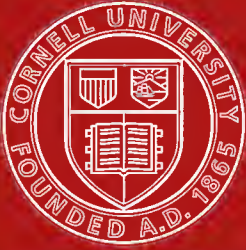


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The Dutch on the Amazon and Negro in the Seventeenth Century

PART I.—DUTCH TRADE ON THE AMAZON.

DUTCH seamen first made acquaintance with the coast of Brazil, either serving on Portuguese vessels or through connivance of the Portuguese government, as early as 1580.¹ Towards the end of the sixteenth century the scanty records that survive show us an ever-increasing number of ships from Holland and Zeeland making their way westward.² Their first objective was the coast of Guinea; then crossing the Atlantic to Brazil it was their habit to creep along the shore, visiting the various river estuaries for the purpose of bartering goods with the natives, until they reached the famous salt mines of Punta de Araya,³ a short distance beyond the Orinoco. Having taken in a freight of this precious commodity, they returned home by way of the West Indian Islands. The well-known Zeeland merchant Balthazar de Moucheron was one of the first pioneers of this traffic, which already in 1599 had assumed large proportions. We owe to Jan de Laet, an unimpeachable authority, our knowledge of the earliest intercourse of the Dutch with the Amazon. In his *Nieuwe Wereldt*⁴ he tells us that about 1599 or 1600 they of Flushing have built upon it (the Amazon) two small forts and dwelling-places, of which the one named Nassau is built on Coyminne, which is like an island 18 or 20 miles long, but narrow and divided by a

¹ De Jonge, *Opkomst van der Nederlandsche Gezag in Oost-Indien*, pp. 35-6; De Stoppelaar, *Balthazar de Moucheron*, pp. 166-7. The first recorded voyage of a Dutchman to Brazil is that of Barent Ericsz, of Enckhuijsen, in 1590 (Brandt, *Historie der Vermaerde Zee en Koop Stadt Enckhuijsen*, i. 261).

² The Spanish governor, Alvaro Mendez de Castro, reports, 16 Jan. 1599 (*Arch. Gen. de Indias*, at Madrid, press 54, case 4, bundle 1), 'An immense swarm of Dutch ships enter the various islands and ports on the coast of the mainland, and finding them unprovided with cloth, which is not sent from Spain, they sell it them cheap.'

³ Called Punta del Rey by the Dutch, just south of the island of Margarita.

⁴ De Laet, *Nieuwe Wereldt*, ed. 1630, pp. 561-2. In the Latin edition of his work, which De Laet published in 1633, a remarkable addition (due, no doubt, to fresh information on the subject which had reached him in the interval) is made to this statement, showing that Dutch ships had begun to frequent the mouth of the Amazon at an even earlier date than the foundation of the Flushing settlement:

'Anno 1598 et etiam ante Amstelodames atque alii mercatores navos suas ad has

creek from the mainland, and was supposed to be some 80 leagues up the river. The other, named Orange, lies 7 leagues lower than this.

These two forts are marked on Robert Dudley's map⁵ as situated on the left bank of the river Parnayba or Xingú, a southern affluent of the main stream of the river immediately before its subdivision into the many channels by which its vast volume of waters finds its way into the ocean. The erection of fortified trading stations so far inland at this early date is a proof that these Flushing merchants already contemplated the establishment of permanent commercial relations with the natives of the interior.

A few years later, in the narrative of Master John Wilson of Wansted,⁶ one of the colonists settled at Wiapoco by Captain Charles Leigh in 1605, several references are made to the presence of Dutch vessels trading along the Guiana coast. Among these he specifically mentions that 'the Indians advertised us of three ships that were in the Amazons, and that one of them would come to us to the river of Wiapoco.' This ship came in due course, and it turned out to be a ship called the 'Hope' of Amsterdam, trading under an English captain, John Sims by name, for certain merchants of that city. This same vessel had been to Wiapoco the previous year, and now remained there six months. Wilson adds that Leigh's colonists 'had never any store of commodities to trade up in the Mainè such as the two Hollanders hath, which are there, and were left there at our coming from thence by John Sims.' The remains of the English settlers embarked in the 'Hope' (31 May 1606), which, after calling at Cayenne and Trinidad, sailed home to Flushing. From this narrative we gather that the Dutch method of trading was, in cases where no actual settlement was attempted, to leave factors on the various rivers along the coast with supplies of barter goods, the stores being replenished and the product of the traffic conveyed by ships, which paid periodical visits to the several stations.

The next information of interest comes from Spanish sources in a document forwarded by the duke of Lerma to the council of the Indies for their consideration.⁷ It is dated 4 April 1615, and

oras (Amasonas) destinarent, ut commercium cum barbaris, qui has oras accolebant, constituerent et stabillirent.'

⁵ Robert Dudley made a voyage to Trinidad, Guiana, &c., in 1595. A narrative of this voyage may be found in Hakluyt's *Collection*, iv. 56. [It was re-edited, with two other accounts of the voyage, by Mr. G. F. Warner for the Hakluyt Society in 1899.—Ed. *E. H. R.*] Dudley at a later time settled in Italy. The map appears in his book, *Dell' Arcano del Mare*, 2nd ed., 2 tom. (Firenze, 1661).

⁶ Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, iv. 1260-5.

⁷ A copy of this document, now in the Archivo General de Indias, is given in the Appendix to the British Case in the British Guiana-Venezuela Boundary Arbitration (to which reference will be made hereafter: as *Brit. Case Venez.*, app.), i. 39-40. Señor Jimenez de la Espada, in the notes to his *Viaje del Capitan Pedro Texeira*, p. 110,

treats of the advances that the Dutch, French, and English were making on the banks and lands of the river of the Amazons. The more important paragraphs run as follows :—

In the Hague of Holland there has appeared Pieter Lodewyex,⁸ a captain of the fleet resident in Flushing, with his son Jan Pieterse,⁹ both returned from the West Indies from the banks of Wiapoco, where they have erected two houses and cultivated tobacco, and the said Pieter went for a cruise in the river of the Amazons, a stretch of 100 leagues up, and on his return brought with him much profit of red dye, tobacco, and different spices, and as far as he there had converse of the inhabitants [learnt] that in that country from there onwards there are many inhabitants and tribes, where there be much greater profit for merchants—the which moved them to return with all the ships to Wiapoco, as well to furnish supplies to the new settlement they have made there, as to push on in the said river of the Amazons in quest of its slave-barter.¹⁰ With that object two of the admiralty have ratified articles of association¹¹ with the burgomaster of Flushing, Jan de Moor, the one named Angelo Lennes, and the other Herr van Lodensteyn,¹² by whose hand he (De Moor) received from the estates of Holland their consent for the establishment of the said colony and settlement, and this without prejudice to the large and general settlement that the said estates think of making in those parts of America in case the war shall not proceed, which many desire and hold for certain ; and so the whole company of maritime trade and commerce urge the said estates to assist them with some considerable aid, so that they may be able to go and gather information and explore the whole extent and breadth of the said river of the Amazons from whence the said estates shall draw great gain in the future as time goes on.

Alás says, and affirms, that a certain Englishman, before that Jan Pieterse¹³ made his settlement in the river of Wiapoco, in reconnoitring it made his way up the Wiapoco, accompanied by twenty savages and some canoes, over sixty-eight rapids or falls of the river, and from there forward he found a level and uniform country without any more rapids, and afterwards a very deep and broad river, and that they would have voyaged onwards by it, and by it arrived at the great city of Manoa, of which there is so great fame, but since the savages who live on the banks of that river had fled—whom the said savages called Norwacas—their cassava-root victuals and all other provisions failed them, the which compelled him with his company to return without passing further, and the said Jan Pieterse has a mind to try the enterprise, and to reconnoitre the said country by the same route by the help of the estates of Holland aforesaid.

remarks that this paper was translated from a Portuguese original into very bad Spanish by Tomas Gracian Dantesco, son of the king's secretary, Diego Gracian.

⁸ Spanish, Pedro Luis.

⁹ Spanish, Juan Pedro Alás.

¹⁰ In the Spanish original *resaque*, i.e. *rescate*. This word signifies buying for slaves prisoners of war otherwise condemned to death, a practice common to Spaniards, Portuguese, and Dutch.

¹¹ ' Confirmado cierta compañía.'

¹² Spanish, Señor de Lodesteyn. Admiral Cornelis Geleynsse, of Flushing, and Jan Jansz Lodensteyn, burgomaster of Delit and director of the East India Company.

¹³ Spanish, Juan Peeters.

This narrative clearly embodies the report of an agent at the Hague in Spanish pay, of Portuguese nationality, bearing the name of Alás.¹⁴ Jan Pieterse, of Flushing, is a well-known name among the seamen who won distinction some years later in the service of the West India Company.¹⁵ We shall meet him again at Wiapoco in 1628. The father, Pieter Lodewyex, from whom Alás derived so much information, appears, from a paragraph in another document of the same authorship, to have been a regular frequenter of the Guiana coast for a considerable period. 'The aforesaid captain,' says this report,¹⁶ 'journeyed for four leagues up the smaller rivers at various times, in obedience to the orders given him by his superiors in 1599.' This date at once recalls the name of the Zeeland merchant Balthazar de Moucheron already mentioned. In 1599, chiefly under Moucheron's auspices, the great expedition under Admiral van der Does set sail to make conquests on the Guinea coast, and on its failure, owing to sickness, a squadron crossed the Atlantic to Brazil, and coasting along returned by the West Indies. The chief command of this fleet, on the death of Van der Does, was taken over by Vice-Admiral Geleynsse, of Flushing, probably the 'Angelo Lennes' of the Alás report. Another expedition, entirely Moucheron's, also sailed in this year under the command of Joris van Spilbergen; it was destined likewise in the first instance to trade on the west coast of Africa, but afterwards, under secret instructions, set out for the Spanish West Indies, and returned with considerable booty. Of this fleet of Spilbergen's Captain Willem Lodewyex was second in command, upon a ship named 'De Moor.' Among those associated with him in Moucheron's service were Michiel Leynse (or Geleynsse) and Everard van Lodensteyn.¹⁷ The mere collocation of names suggests that the commercial company of whose beginning Alás speaks, and of which Jan de Moor was so long the head,⁸ was the legitimate successor to the vast projects and world-wide schemes of daring enterprise set on foot by the genius and energy of Balthazar de Moucheron.

¹⁴ This is not a Dutch name: in the first instance (see above, note 9) it probably slipped into the text from the margin through a blunder of the copyist or translator. At the beginning of the second paragraph Alás is clearly distinguished from Jan Pieterse.

¹⁵ It may be assumed from the narrative that he was a young man in 1615.

¹⁶ Sent by the duke of Lerma to the council of the Indies, 27 June 1615. The text of the Spanish original from Seville may be found in *Brit. Case Venez.*, app., i. 41. Another copy exists in Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 28461, with the Portuguese heading untranslated and variants in the spelling of the Spanish.

¹⁷ De Stoppelaar's *Balthazar de Moucheron* (1901), pp. 204-7. This Willem Lodewyex sailed as commissary in Cornelis Houtman's first voyage to the East Indies, and was its historiographer. The ship 'De Moor' was probably named after Admiral Joost de Moor (brother of Jan), under whom Spilbergen first served.

¹⁸ Of the part taken by Jan de Moor's company in the early colonisation of Essequibo and other parts of Guiana and the West Indies see *ante*, vol. xvi. pp. 663 *et seq.* (October 1901).

The historical accuracy of Alás's report is worth comment. At first sight it might appear improbable, in view of the perennial rivalry between Hollanders and Zeelanders, that Jan de Moor, burgomaster of Flushing, Admiral Geleynsse, and Captains Pieter Lodewyck and Jan Pieterse, all hailing from the Zeeland port, should have applied for help to the estates of Holland. But the reason was that Flushing in 1614-5 was still in the hands of the English, and that in 1614 the estates of Holland had passed a resolution encouraging settlement and exploration across the seas, and offering a trade monopoly for a certain number of years to the patrons and pioneers. The Englishman referred to by Alás is Captain Harcourt, who has left an account of his voyage up the Wiapoco in 1609. The association of Jan Jansz Lodensteyn, burgomaster of Delft, with the Zeelanders in their petition accounts for the Delft element—which I have already shown in my *Dutch in Western Guiana* to have been so marked among the early colonisers of Essequibo.¹⁹

A description of the disposition of the Zeeland merchants at this time, with a probable reference to the voyage of Pieter Lodewyck to the Amazon, may be found in another and slightly earlier document, forwarded by the duke of Lerma to the council of the Indies. It bears the date 5 July 1614, and says—

The West India Company is likewise being pressed forward by certain merchants, reckless men and enemies of quietness; they are going about through all the towns in Holland and Zeeland to persuade the people to favour it; in no part have they received greater hopes of carrying out their object than in Zeeland, as it is a matter very consonant to the disposition of that part, and because over there they will have need of sailors and employment for ships, of which they have so great a quantity that they are ruining each other. They have cast their eyes on the river Orellana,²⁰ and a caravel has already been despatched from Flushing to go up the said river as far as possible and make acquaintance with the inhabitants thereof.²¹

The spirit which is here described as animating the Zeelanders was especially strong in Flushing, though where it was as yet held in check by the presence of an English governor and garrison, and the determination of King James not to give offence to the Spanish government. The embargo was, however, to be speedily removed by the statesmanlike diplomacy of the advocate of Holland,

¹⁹ *Ante*, xvi. 674 *et seq.* The colony of English and Dutch at Wiapoco is certified by Sancho de Alquiça in a despatch to the king, 13 June 1612. He says, 'There are forty houses of English and Flemings in the settlement, which I report to be on the river Guyapoco, and that there be eighty men in it, and they occupy themselves in sowing tobacco and cultivating it.' Alás writes, 'The said captain with eighty men resided [there] eight months and exported tobacco' (*Brit. Case Venez.*, app., i. 41).

²⁰ Amazon.

²¹ Hydrogr. Depôt, Madrid, MSS. 1537-1635, tom. 25, viii. doc. 74.

Oldenbarneveltdt. In the early part of 1616, taking advantage of the pecuniary embarrassments of the king, he redeemed the cautionary towns, of which Flushing was the most important, by a cash payment, and freed them henceforth from foreign control. The effect was immediate. Before the end of 1616 two bodies of colonists had left the Zeeland ports for the wild coast of Guiana, the one to found a settlement on the river Essequibo, in the north-west, the other on the river Amazon, in the south-east.

Our knowledge of these two settlements of 1616 is derived from the manuscripts of Major John Scott. The account given by that writer of the early history of the colony of Essequibo in his 'Description of Guiana,' preserved in the British Museum,²² has already been shown by me²³ to be accurate and trustworthy. The passage in which he tells of the expedition to the Amazon is found in an unfinished manuscript upon the 'History and Description of the River of the Amazonas,' two copies of which are extant among the Pepys papers, one in the Bodleian Library at Oxford,²⁴ the other in the library of Magdalene College, Cambridge.²⁵

In the year 1616, ^{PEETER ADRIANSE} one Peeter Adriaanse, in the Golden Cock of Vlushing, sailed for the Amazonas, and having been as high as the entrance of the Strait, they feared they might be in a wrong chanel, returned Back again, and between the River Coropatube and the River Ginipape on a peninsula by a little river on one side and an Arme of the Amazonas on the other side, they built a fort, many of these people were English that then Inhabited in Vlushing and at Ramakins, towns then in the hands of the English. They were one hundred and thirty men and fourteen of them carried their famelies to plant with them, they had Bread, Pease, Beefe, Porke, Bakon, Otmeal, Vinegar, and twentie Hogs-heads of Brandey, a store for one whole yeare, besides their ship provisions they had a fair corispondence with a nation of Indians their Nieghbours, called Supanes. The ship haveing stayed thier four months till their Fort was finished, and some Huts built, without as well as within the Fort, the Indians assisted them in planting Tobacco, Annotta, a red dye, a Bastard Scarlet. Things in this condition, the ship leaves them sayling for Zeeland, but returns the yeare Following, with recrutes of all things necessary. But Bread and Meat was not at all now wanting, they loaded the ship with Tobacco, Anotta, and Specklewood, the Loding was sould for Sixtie Thousand pounds sterling money. These were the two first voyages of the Admiral de Vuyler, the first in the tenth, and the second in the twelfth year of his age A.D. 1618 as I have had it from his own mouth, as also that the Losse of that Hopeful Colony was thier engaging

²² Sloane MS. 3662.

²³ 'The Dutch in Western Guiana,' *ante*, vol. xvi. pp. 640-75.

²⁴ Rawlinson MS. A 175, f. 356, the spelling of which is followed in the extract below. The date of this manuscript is probably about 1669 or 1670. Scott was appointed geographer to the king 29 Aug. 1668. The patent of Charles II, signed 'Arlington,' is in existence.

²⁵ Pepys's *Miscellanea*, vol. v. f. 351.

themselves in the Quarrels of the Indians, assisting the Supanes against another nation called the Periotes, who were in Alliance with the Portogueze. This occasioned these Indians to give them great disturbance, they accompanying the Portogueze in their vessels to attack them soe that though they could not make themselves masters of their Fort and Plantations (the Supanes their neighbours in great Bodies assisting them), yet several of the English and Dutch being kild and wounded. Two ships coming in the yeare 1623, they all embarked with what they had, Back for Zeeland, bringing with them very considerable riches.

It will be noted that Scott claims that his knowledge of these events was derived from the personal testimony of an eye-witness. The informant may be identified with the famous Admiral de Ruyter,²⁶ who was born at Flushing, 24 March 1607, and who would have been in his tenth year when 'Peeter Adriaanson' sailed from that port in the 'Golden Cock.' The latter was also a man of note in the naval annals of his time, being the Pieter Adriaansz Ita²⁷ who in 1630 went as second in command of the expedition which captured Olinda and the Reciff. We shall find him again in the Amazon in 1623.

Almost every detail of what may be styled the Scott-De-Ruyter narrative about this colony above the river Ginipape can be authenticated from contemporary sources. In an earlier part of his 'Description of the River Amazones' Scott, using the information of another eye-witness,²⁸ tells us that

Fiftie Four Leagues below the East Banke of this River was a fort built on a peninsula by some Hollanders in the yeare 1616, but since the Portogueze have had a small fort thiere, which they caled Destierro, also on the North Banks of the Amazone, From which Fort, sayling on the North Side of the River six leagues, you will comé to the River Ginipape.

This identifies the locality of the Dutch settlement with the Portuguese fort six leagues from the mouth of the Ginipape, which Acuña saw in his descent with Pedro Teixeira in 1639, and which he says 'they call El Destierro.'²⁹ There is likewise contemporary Portuguese evidence about the establishment of De Moor's colony above the Ginipape of a particularly interesting character.

²⁶ 'Vuyler' is evidently the error of a careless copyist; there never was an Admiral de Vuyler. During the short-lived peace (1668-71) De Ruyter lived quietly in his modest burgher house at Amsterdam, and at this very time Scott was also visiting Holland, gathering additional information for his contemplated history of America. 'The many booksellers of Hollaad,' he says in his intended preface, 'will doe me right to testifie my continuall inquisition.' He no doubt sought out the great seaman, who is described as 'friendly to strangers,' to learn what he could of his voyages to the West Indies.

²⁷ He is nearly always spoken of simply as 'Pieter Adriaansz.' In 1628 he, in company with Jan Pieterse (of the Alás narrative), highly distinguished himself in the capture of the Honduras galleons.

²⁸ Captain Matthias Matteson, of whom more below.

²⁹ Markham's *Valley of the Amazons* (Hakluyt Society), translated from Acuña's *New Discovery*, p. 129.

In 1615 the French had been expelled from São Luis do Maranhão by Jeronymo de Albuquerque. Encouraged by this success the governor of Brazil gave orders that an expedition under Francisco Caldeira de Castel Branco should be despatched to explore the mouths of the Amazon, and erect a fort in such a position as to check the trading excursions of the Dutch and English up the river from the Cabo do Norte. A copy of the official narrative of this expedition may be found in the British Museum.³⁰ It effected a result of lasting importance. Coasting along Caldeira mistook the channel of Sapurarã for the chief mouth of the river, and on its north shore, thirty leagues up stream, on 15 Dec. 1615, laid the foundation of a settlement, to which he gave the name Nossa Senhora de Belem. It was the beginning of the state of Grão Pará and of Portuguese dominion on the Amazon. While thus engaged in his exploration Caldeira learned from a French fugitive from Maranhão, whom he encountered, that higher up the river a Zeelander (*Framengo*) was travelling among the native villages, and besides this man there were others, who had learned the language and engaged in traffic with the Indians, and that three Zeeland vessels had a few days before gone up stream. On learning this, Caldeira sent his informant to find the Zeelander and get further information from him, with the result that he heard that the Hollanders and Zeelanders (*Olandeses e Framengos*)³¹ had 250 to 300 men in two fortresses of wood, and two sugar mills, and that the natives reported that 150 leagues from the new Portuguese settlement of Belem there were much people in fifteen boats³² fortifying themselves, having women with them. Here then we have, first, the Dutch factors travelling about in the Indian villages near the mouth of the river; then the two long-established forts of Orange and Nassau on the Xingú; lastly, the colonists of Pieter Adriansz (it is mentioned by Scott that some had their families with them) engaged in fortifying themselves on the peninsula above Ginipape. It is further by no means improbable

³⁰ Add. MS. 28461. The document bears the title 'Relação do que no Grande Rio das Amazonas novamente descuberto. Año de 1616.' It is signed 'O Capitão Andres Pereira,' and a marginal Spanish note states, 'Cuya relacion es hecha por el Capitan Andres Pereira, que de orden del General que fué al dicho descubrimiento pasó á España á dar cuenta á S. M. de todo lo que acaeció en aquel viaje y expresa en la misma relación.' The original is in the Bibl. Nao. de Madrid.

³¹ In the Spanish documents of the early seventeenth century the Dutch are sometimes called *Olandeses*, sometimes *Flamencos* (Port. *Framengos*). A comparison of a large number of passages has convinced me that though both terms are used generically to signify inhabitants of the rebel provinces, more frequently they have a limited and specific meaning, so that *Olandeses* indicates Hollanders and *Flamencos* Zeelanders. This would almost certainly be the case where, as above, the terms are used together distinctively.

³² These *vellas* were the canoes in which the friendly Indians carried the colonists with their stores and necessaries from the 'Golden Cock' to the spot chosen for the settlement.

that the three Zeeland vessels mentioned by the Frenchman were the very three vessels which, according to a well-known passage in Scott's description of Guiana, in this year 1616 conveyed 'Captain Gromwegle' and his settlers to the Essequibo.³³ In accordance with the usual practice, these, on their way westward, would visit the various trading places along the wild coast,³⁴ beginning with the Amazon. Not impossibly they may have been instructed to inquire after the whereabouts of Pieter Adriaansz, and give any assistance that might be necessary. It is at least a credible supposition, in agreement with stated facts.

Scott's narrative contains one peculiarly illuminating piece of information concerning the colonists taken out by the 'Golden Cock.' 'Many of these people,' we read, 'were English, that inhabited in Flushing and at Rammekens, towns then in the hands of the English.' This statement at once explains why it is that these early settlements on the Amazon are described by one author as English, by another as Dutch.³⁵ It was because the bodies of settlers who went out at this time from the cautionary towns contained, as did the populations of the town themselves, a considerable intermixture of English, men who by long residence had identified their interests with those of their adopted country, joined in Dutch enterprise, and traded under the Dutch flag. The fact that this passage was written fully half a century after the redemption of Flushing and Rammekens by Oldenbarneveldt is one more signal, because undesigned, proof of the remarkable accuracy, both generally and in detail, of the Scott manuscripts.³⁶

It has been assumed that the expedition under Pieter Adriaansz was a consequence of the representations of Pieter Lodewycx and Jan Pieterse, and that it was sent out under the auspices of Jan de Moor and Co. The colonists, according to Scott, prospered for some six years, until, through quarrels with the Indian tribes, and attacks of the Portuguese, with whom these Indians allied themselves, they found their position no longer tenable, and finally, in 1623, embarked in two vessels for Zeeland, bringing back home with them considerable riches. Both the assumption and the narrative of the return can be confirmed by contemporary evidence.

³³ Scott says, 'The sixth colonie was undertaken by one Captain Gromwegle [Groenewegen], a Dutchman. . . . He dispatched from Zealand, anno 1616, with two ships and a galliote. . . . He erected a fort on a small island 30 leagues up the River Dissekeeb . . . ' (Brit. Mus. Sloane MS. 3662). See *ante*, vol. xvi. p. 651.

³⁴ See Minutes of Proceedings of the Zeeland Chamber, 26 Nov. 1626, 1 July 1627, and 10 April 1628; also Purchas, vol. iv. 1620-4.

³⁵ Espada, *Viaje del Capitan Pedro Texeira*, commenting on this difficulty in his notes, writes (p. 111), 'En casos es muy difiail distinguir entre Holandés, Ingleses, é Irlandeses;' and again (p. 115), 'Estos Holandeses muertos por los Tapajos eran Ingleses para el P. Acuña.'

³⁶ See *ante*, vol. xvi. pp. 640-75.

In 1621 the Dutch West India Company came into existence, and by the terms of its charter private trading enterprise in the Amazon became henceforth illegal, though no doubt it was to some extent connived at. In the minutes of the proceedings of the XIX³⁷ for 4 Nov. 1623 we find

that the request of the heer burgomaster, Jan de Moor, was read, in which he asks permission to send a ship and yacht into the Amazons to bring down his colonists, about seventy white men (*Christenen*); and after deliberation it is resolved that such is an infringement of the charter, and cannot be permitted, but that instructions shall be given to Admiral Willekens to bring back the colonists thence at the first opportunity.

And a later entry, 3 April 1624, represents 'Heer Johan De Moor aende Co.' negotiating with the XIX and the Zeeland chambers for the taking over of their goods for the Amazons at a valuation, showing that already at this date their private venture had been given up.

One point more may be mentioned. Scott says that the De Moor colonists 'loaded the ship with tobacco, anotta, and speckle-wood, the loding was sould for sixtie thousand pounds sterling money.' De Laet in his well-known description of the West Indies published in 1624, speaking of the commodities brought from the Amazons and neighbouring rivers, specially mentions annotto, speckle-wood, and tobacco as bringing in good returns. The annotto, he says,

has been sold in Holland for twelve shillings sterling. . . . There is also a red speckled wood, which the natives call Pira Timimiere (in Netherland letterwood), which is worth thirty or forty pounds sterling a ton. . . . Lastly, there is here a profitable merchandise, to wit, tobacco . . . out of whose planting in a short time very great profits can be gathered.

Of the course of events between the dates 1616 and 1622 (except what is told us in Scott's narrative) we know little. In 1616, immediately after the foundation of Belem, Caldeira hearing, as we have seen, that the Dutch had established several factories in the northern mouth of the Amazon, despatched Pedro Teixeira with a force to expel them. Teixeira succeeded in destroying a large Dutch vessel, and in carrying off her artillery to Belem, but he was himself wounded in the action, and does not appear to have effected anything further. Dissensions among the Portuguese themselves and the hostility of the natives, who attacked even the fortifications of Belem itself, gave to the Dutch for a few years a free hand in their trade in the Amazon. Meanwhile the

³⁷ Rijk's Archief, at the Hague, W.I.C., O.C., vol. i. The XIX were the supreme council of the W.I.C.

political aspect of things had changed. In 1621, at the conclusion of the twelve years' truce, war had broken out once more between Spain and the United Netherlands, and the Dutch West India Company had been formed with the avowed object of conquest and plunder in the Spanish Indies. The Amazon lay within the limits of their charter, and this fact may have been the primary cause of the abandonment of his successful colony by Jan de Moor, who, being himself one of the leading directors of the Zeeland chamber of the new company, was doubtless desirous not to infringe those exclusive privileges which it was now his interest to maintain.³⁸

But there is another cause mentioned in Scott's narrative, of which we must now speak. The year 1622 was marked by the appointment of Bento Maciel Parente to be Capitão Mor of Grão Pará, a man of great energy and ambition, who had already made himself notorious in those parts for unscrupulousness and cruelty. Shortly afterwards Luis Aranha Vasconcellos arrived at Belem with a special commission from Madrid to co-operate with Maciel in the expulsion of the Dutch and other foreigners from the Amazon.³⁹ An expedition was sent up the river Pará to reconnoitre, and found its way blocked on entering the main stream by a strongly entrenched post on the north bank near the mouth of the river Corupá, occupied by a mixed body of Dutch, English, and French settlers,⁴⁰ with a large number of native allies. Maciel, however, having concentrated a considerable force, attacked them, expelled them from their trenches, and drove them down the river. He would next appear to have destroyed the Dutch factories of Orange and Nassau up the Xingú, and then to have descended the northern mouth of the river, known as the Rio Felipe, where he, opposite the Ilha de Tucujos, encountered a Dutch vessel. This he assailed with such vigour that, after a fierce and prolonged combat, the captain, who was none other than Pieter Adriaansz of Flushing, was compelled to run his ship aground and burn her.⁴¹ After this

³⁸ In Western Guiana (*i.e.* in the Essequibo and its dependent rivers) Jan de Moor and Co. retained the right of private trade for a long period (see *ante*, vol. xvi. pp. 669-70).

³⁹ 'Relação sumaria das cousas de Maranhão pello Capitão Estacio de Sylveira, 1624' (Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 13977); Berredo, *Ann. Hist. do Estado do Maranhão*, §§ 489-513.

⁴⁰ All of them no doubt inhabitants of the United Provinces, at that time full of French refugees. The English would be, as at Ginipape, residents at Flushing and Hammekens.

⁴¹ Of the burning of this vessel in 1623 there are two other contemporary accounts, one by the Jesuit P. Luis Figueira in his 'Relaçam de varios successos acontecidos no Maranham e Gram Para assim de paz como de guerra contra o rebelde Olandes, Ingresses, e Franceses e outras nações,' printed in the appendix to Espada's edition of the *Viage del Capitán Pedro Teixeira*, p. 123. The other occurs in a manuscript in the British Museum (Sloane MS. 179 B), of which a further account will be given hereafter. This last mentions the name of the captain.

achievement Maciel returned to Corupá and built a fort on the southern bank opposite the Dutch settlement, at a place called Mariocay, which was to remain for some seventy years the chief Portuguese outpost on the Amazon.

One of the best early notices of this Portuguese fort of Corupá may be found in a most interesting contemporary account of the ascent of the Amazon by Pedro Teixeira in 1638, which was written at Quito in that year, most probably by the Jesuit father Alonso de Rojas, and embodies information derived by him from Teixeira's chief pilot, Bento da Costa.⁴² After describing its position on the southern bank of the river, its armament and defence, the writer proceeds to speak of the Dutch fort, which formerly stood on the opposite northern shore, of the attacks made upon it by the Portuguese, and of its ultimate capture with many prisoners. He adds :

Among the spoils they took a large ship⁴³ in which came the great pilot Matamatigo, that by order of the governors of the rebel islands came on purpose to explore this river, and arrived with his ship as far as the province of the Trapajosos, distant 200 leagues from Gran Pará.

From this passage it is evident that the person named by the author *el gran piloto* was well known to those who took part in Teixeira's famous expedition, and to the Spaniards of Quito, and the question naturally arises, Who was he? Can we learn anything about him or about this voyage to the Trapajosos from other sources? ⁴⁴

Again, it is to Scott's narratives that we must turn for an answer to our questions. In his 'Description of Guiana' ⁴⁵ Scott mentions his great indebtedness to one Matteson, born at Ghent, who became his prisoner during the English expedition against the Dutch colony of Essequibo in 1665. This man is there described as having managed a trade for the Spaniards from the city of San Thomé, in Orinoco, for twenty-two years, and as being one of 'the greatest Travailleurs that ever were in Guayana of Christians.' In

⁴² The full title of the work, as published and edited by Marcos Jimenez de Espada (Madrid, 1889), is *El Viaje del Capitan Pedro Teixeira aguas arriba del Rio de las Amazonas, 1638-9*. The learned editor, in his preface, gives convincing evidence as to the authorship of the anonymous narrative and of its source.

⁴³ Padre de Rojas (*op. cit.* p. 80) says that the ship carried twenty pieces of artillery. He is evidently confusing this vessel of 1623 with the large vessel mentioned above, captured off the mouth of the Amazon by Teixeira in 1616, whose guns were afterwards mounted on the new fortifications of Belem. No ship so heavily armed would attempt to go some hundreds of leagues up a river. As a matter of fact we learn from the Sloane MS. 179 B that Pieter Adriaansz's vessel carried only two heavy guns.

⁴⁴ Espada, in his notes to the *Viaje*, p. 110, asks, 'Pero quien era ese gran piloto Matamatigo?' but is quite unable to suggest any answer to his question. He is similarly puzzled about the reference to the Trapajosos (see pp. 111, 114-15).

⁴⁵ See *ante*, vol. xvi. p. 641.

his unfinished 'Description of the Amazons' ⁴⁶ Scott has more to tell us about him. 'I received very much of what I shall relate,' he writes,

from Captaine Mathias Matteson, a Ghentoise by nation, but was Captaine of the Admiral vessel in which Pedro Teixeira embarked when he went upon the discovery of the mightie Amazons, A.D. 1637. . . . This Matteson was captain of the vessel, I made the discovery of part of the Amazons River, and afterwards, A.D. 1665 and 1666, of one of the vessels in the squadron of ships I commanded against the French and Dutch on the Island Tobago and on the Coast of Guiana. I bought of this man all his mapps, carts, and journalls which he had made in fortie years, while he had served the Spanish and Portuguese in the West Indies.

And again in another place—

Besides Herrera and divers Spaniards that have writ of this river . . . their are none that have been soe perticular as Capt. Mathias Matteson, he has noted that their are above eight hundred Islands in the Amazone Empire.

In 1661, Scott tells us, Matteson quitted the Spanish for the Dutch service, and it was as a Dutch official that he became prisoner to the English in 1665. Clearly Padre de Rojas's 'Matamatigo' ⁴⁷ was Scott's Mattias Matteson, and *el gran piloto* was the natural and fitting description which a writer telling the story of the wonderful voyage, at Quito in 1638, would give of the man, whose knowledge of the navigation of the Amazon had caused his selection as captain of Pedro Teixeira's own vessel, and whose very presence in the far inland Spanish town afforded such signal proof of his skill. The forty years mentioned by Scott almost exactly coincide with the interval between 1624, when 'Matamatigo' may be supposed to have entered the service of his Portuguese captors, and 1665, when, as a prisoner of war, Matteson sold his manuscripts to the English major, whose thirst for geographical information he had been able to gratify.

Padre de Rojas's statement that the ship—that of Matamatigo—'by order of the governors of the rebel islands came on purpose to explore this river, and arrived as far as the province of the Trapajosos, distant 200 leagues from Grão Pará,' next requires elucidation. It has been seen that the captain of the vessel was Pieter Adriaansz. Mattias Matteson must in 1623 have been quite a young man, and probably sailed as *stuurman*. The directors of the Zeeland chamber of the West India Company are no doubt indicated by 'the governors of the rebel islands.' In the first flush of their newly acquired charter every opening for enterprise and trade was eagerly sought by the various chambers, and it was to be

⁴⁶ Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS. A 175, f. 356.

⁴⁷ Spanish writers (*i.e.* Gumilla) call Raleigh *Ralego*, Keymis *Keymisco*.

expected that a body of which Jan de Moor himself was a prominent member would be desirous to adventure something in a region whose profitableness the burg master had so successfully assayed. It would seem, then, that Pieter Adriaansz, as the captain who had carried out De Moor's colonists some six years before to a destination far up the Amazon, was now chosen to plant another settlement in that same part of the river to which he had already penetrated in 1616. He would appear, according to Rojas,⁴⁸ to have sailed, possibly once again in the 'Golden Cock,'⁴⁹ past the rivers Ginipape and Corupataba as far as the mouth of the Tapajos. This was the superior limit of the voyage. It was in his descent that Adriaansz was unfortunate enough to encounter the victorious flotilla of Maciel, with the result that, after a stiff fight, he only succeeded in saving the lives of himself and a portion of his crew by running his ship aground at the mouth of the small river Okian, opposite the island of Tucujos.⁵⁰

Were this all that contemporary testimony had to tell us about this ill-fated expedition, the statement made above that its object was to plant a new settlement high up the Amazon could not be regarded as proved. But there is singularly strong corroborative evidence. Acuña, in his account of the return of Teixeira from Quito in 1639, writes as follows about the river of the Tapajos :⁵¹—

I must relate that it is of such depth, from the mouth to a distance of many leagues, that in times past an English ship of great burden ascended it, those people intending to make a settlement in this province, and to prepare harvests of tobacco. They offered the natives advantageous terms; but the latter suddenly attacked the English, and would accept no other than the killing of all the strangers they could get into their hands and the seizure of their arms, which they retain to this day. They forced them to depart from the land much quicker than they had come, the people who remained in the ship declining another similar encounter (which would have destroyed them all) by making sail.

In this passage Acuña makes the confusion between English and Dutch usual to Portuguese and Spanish writers in treating of this subject.⁵² That he was in error is shown conclusively by

⁴⁸ *Viaje*, p. 80. The 'Tapajos' of this narrative (Acuña, 'Tapajos') are the Tapajos of later times. Padre Laureano de la Cruz, in his *Nuevo descubrimiento del Rio de Marañon* (1653), calls them 'Estrapojos'; also Rojas, p. 86.

⁴⁹ In De Laet's *Jaerlijck Verhael*, which contains complete lists of the ships employed on the various expeditions during the period 1624-36, the name of the 'Goldne Haen' never appears. This confirms the probability that it was destroyed in 1623.

⁵⁰ Sloane MS. 179 B; Padre Figueira's 'Relaçam,' in appendix to Espada's *Viaje*, p. 123; Berredo, §§ 505, &c.

⁵¹ The translation is taken from the Hakluyt Society's volume *Expeditions into the Valley of the Amazons*.

⁵² One explanation of this confusion is given in Scott's account of the expedition

another extract from the *Viaje*. The author is telling⁵³ of the descent from Quito to Pará in 1637 of the two Franciscan friars Toledo and Brieva, with six soldiers, and of their experiences at the hands of these 'Estrapajosos.' He adds :

In this village these soldiers saw skulls of men, arquebuses, pistols, and linen shirts, and when afterwards they advised the Portuguese of this, they told them that these Indians had killed some Dutchmen that had arrived as far as these provinces, whose were the skulls and arms.

The form of the narrative here plainly points to the soldiers themselves⁵⁴ as the source of information, and we are therefore justified in reading Dutch for English in Acuña's version of the story. Ill-luck would seem to have pursued this voyage of Pieter Adriaans throughout.

The first attempt of the Portuguese in 1623 to expel the Dutch met, as we have seen, with partial success. It was, however, but a spasmodic effort, and it ceased precisely at the moment of a great revival of Dutch activity. A remarkable manuscript journal in the British Museum⁵⁵ (already quoted) furnishes a record of the state of things in the Amazon in 1623-4 from the testimony of an eye-witness. The journal begins by stating that the directors of the West India Company, as soon as they entered upon their administration, resolved to despatch a vessel of 100 tons, named the 'Pigeon,'⁵⁶ on a voyage of inspection of the river Amazon and the coast of Guiana. When it was equipped, a certain Jesse des Forestes, the writer of the journal, who had, by permission of the states-general, enrolled a number of families desirous of settling in the Indies, petitioned that these might be employed in the service of the company. The proposal was not approved by the directors, but they offered to take Jesse des Forest and a certain number of 'heads of families' selected by him, to see the place and choose for themselves the site for a settlement. This was agreed to, and on 1 July 1623 the 'Pigeon' sailed from the Texel. It carried on board ten heads of families, under the leadership of Des Forestes, all bearing, like himself, distinctively French names.⁵⁷

of 1616 (*supra*, p. 6; cf. p. 9). Another may be found in the existence of such firms as Courten & Co., described *ante*, vol. xvi. pp. 658-60, which comprised both English and Dutch partners.

⁵³ *Viaje*, p. 86.

⁵⁴ Some of the soldiers, if not all, returned to Quito with Teixeira.

⁵⁵ Sloane MS. 179 B. It bears the title 'Journal du Voyage fait par les Pères de Familles envoyés par MM. les Directeurs de la Compagnie des Indes Occidentales pour visiter la Coste de la Guyane.' It will be referred to hereafter as the 'Des Forestes MS.'

⁵⁶ 'Het Duifken.' According to the journal this vessel set sail homeward on the first day of 1624. In October of that same year its name appears in the list of ships equipped by the chamber of Amsterdam to sail to Brazil under Admiral Boudewyk Hendricksz (De Laet, *Jaerlijck Verhaal*, p. 23).

⁵⁷ It is curious how many of the pioneers of Dutch commerce at the beginning of

They did not enter the Amazon till 6 Oct. As they were in the offing they came upon another vessel which had set sail about the same time as themselves, and from which they had parted company at Plymouth. It was commanded by Pieter Jansz of Flushing.⁵³ In making their way through the intricate channels both ships frequently grounded, though the writer more than hints that some of these mishaps were due to the craft of Pieter Jansz, who thereby contrived to be the first to reach the English and Irish settlements.⁵⁹ These were six in number—English and Irish at Supanapoko, English at the mouth of the river Okian, at Tillekille, and Onar-meonaka, and Irish at the mouth of the Taurege.⁶⁰ Each of these was visited in turn, with the result that Jesse des Forestes and his fathers of families, having heard at Supanapoko of the burning of Pieter Adriaansz's ship, and being afraid of the proximity of 'the Spaniards' at Pará, determined that they would proceed further along the coast in search of a safer place for settling. Another reason for this decision may have been the reception they met with at the hands of the Irish colonists. They left Pieter Jansz anchored off the Irish settlement in the mouth of the Taurege, and the evidence of one of these Irishmen, by name Gaspar Chillan, exists. In a petition to the king of Spain, in 1632, he recounts how the Irishmen were left in the Amazon by an English corsair named Thomas Roe,⁶¹ that they built a fort, and that they, on religious grounds, declined to enter into any relations with some Dutch ships who visited them shortly afterwards, and wished to make a settlement at their side. 'They quickly went away,' says Chillan, 'without gaining the goodwill of the Irish.' Evidently at this time, though the Dutch coasting traders appear to have regularly

the seventeenth century were of French extraction. To mention some of the more prominent—Balthazar de Moucheron, Pierre le Moine, Isaac le Maire, François de la Dale, Claude Prévost, Arnoult le Clerc, Balthazar de Gerbier were all well known.

⁵³ This man was, from our narrative, evidently thoroughly acquainted with the Amazon and the other rivers of the coast. He is, no doubt, identical with the Captain Janson, of Flushing, whom Raleigh encountered at Cayenne in 1617 and describes as having 'traded that place about a dussen years,' and whose knowledge of the navigation and honesty he commends. He may be the same as the Pieter Jansz of Flushing who was one of the four sailors who discovered the conspiracy against Prince Maurice in February of this same year (1623).

⁵⁹ 'Pieter Jansz nous faisoit consommer le temps expres pour donner loisir a son chaloupe de traiter avec les Anglois et Hirlandois.'

⁶⁰ All these are clearly delineated on a carefully drawn map. See also the maps of De Laet, 1625, and D'Abbeville, 1654, nos. 6 and 9 in the atlas of British Guiana prepared for the Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration. As to the English settlements, one appears to have been established by a Captain North, another by Roger Freye (or Frere).

⁶¹ Of the 'corsair' Thomas Roe (Chillan-Ro) a previous notice is found in the Alás MS., 1615, showing that one at least of the English settlements had been in existence for several years. The words are, 'Un Tomas Rey tiene puesto un notable fuerte en la embocadura del Rio de las Amazonas de donde haze grandes y provechosas resagues.'

visited the mouth of the Amazon for the purpose of bartering goods and trafficking with the English and Irish resident factors, their own settlements lay further up the river. The 'Pigeon' thereupon set sail for the river Wiapoco, whither it was followed by Pieter Jansz three weeks later. In the interval this bold seaman, undeterred by the fate of his fellow-townsmen, Pieter Adriaansz, had made his way up stream and burnt the new fort⁶² just erected at Mariocay, above the Corupá, by Maciel Parente. At Wiapoco the heads of families elected to settle, and there the 'Pigeon' left them on the first day of 1624.

It is beside our purpose here to speak of the hardships and privations these French refugees suffered during the next seventeen months. They were heartily glad when on 23 May 1625 a yacht named the 'Vliegende Draeck,'⁶³ under the command of Galeyn van Stabels, of Flushing, entered the river under orders from the directors of the West India Company to offer them a passage home. Des Forestes informs us that Van Stabels had just been in the Amazon with Admiral Lucifer to take there Captain Oudaen⁶⁴ and from eighty to one hundred soldiers. It will be shown later that this strong body of men had been sent out to reoccupy Corupá.

The sequence of events stands out, therefore, with the utmost distinctness. In the earlier part of 1623 Maciel Parente expelled the Dutch from Corupá and the Xingú, destroyed the ship of Pieter Adriaansz, and finally built a fort opposite the former Dutch post to check further incursions of the foreigners in the trunk stream of the Amazon. In November of this same year Pieter Jansz, with the view, no doubt, of personally testing the accuracy of the native rumours about the presence of the Portuguese at Corupá, ascended the river, drove out the small garrison from the post which barred his progress, and set fire to its wooden defences. His first step on returning would be to inform his employers of what he had heard, seen, and done. They on their part seem to have lost no time in taking adequate steps to repair their misfortune. They felt that the possessor of a stronghold at Corupá held the key to the trade of the Amazon, and so Captain Oudaen was sent out with a sufficient force, as they judged, to establish himself firmly at the point of vantage, and to hold his own against any attack likely to be made against him. But they did not take due

⁶² 'Qui nous dit, quil auoit bruslé le fort, que les Espagnols avoint faict au de la Corpray en l'Amasone.' Our knowledge of this fact rests solely on the authority of the Des Forestes MS.

⁶³ The 'Flying Dragon.' This was the real name of the yacht. Des Forestes calls it, probably from the colour of the figure-head, 'Le Draecken Verd.'

⁶⁴ Des Forestes is again the sole authority for these details. Netscher (*Gesch. van Essequibo, &c.*) thought that Captain Oudaen was sent out at a much earlier date. Berredo, § 530, names him Nicolas Hosdan.

account of the energy and determination of Maciel Parente. The news was brought to him—exaggerated, as usual, in the transmission—that 200 Dutch, under a leader named Nicolas ‘Hosdan,’⁶⁵ had arrived in the Amazon, and established themselves in their old quarters. He quickly raised a powerful flotilla under the tried leadership of Pedro Teixeira, and despatched it with orders to oust the newcomers. For the most authentic account of the issue of the expedition we have to turn to the pages of that most veracious of chroniclers, Jan de Laet.

The very next year after the return of the *pères de familles* from the river Wiapoco a certain Jan van Ryen obtained leave to take out a body of colonists to that river, and Admiral Lucifer was commissioned to carry them. Accordingly on 23 Jan. 1627 he set sail, accompanied not only by Galeyn van Stabels, in the ‘Vliegende Draeck,’ but by the other Flushing captain, Jan Pieterse, whose connexion with the Wiapoco was of long date,⁶⁶ in the ‘Leeuwin.’ The story of what they found on the Wiapoco is best told in De Laet’s words.⁶⁷

March 5.—They anchored in 4 fathoms of water about 2 leagues from Comaribo; sailed the next day to the River Wiapoco, where they had been charged to land some colonists; the 7th they anchored before Caribote in 3 fathoms of water, and at low water grounded; and as the savages, who lived thereabouts, did not come on board, two sloops were sent to Comaribo to fetch some of them on board, and the following day they brought two to conduct them to the other inhabitants. Again making their way up stream with the sloops, they came by night to a place called by the natives Wacogenive, where they found two huts, and observed that the savages were frightened at the coming of our folk, but could not understand the reason for it. The next day they visited the place, and found the same very suitable for the settlement of the people

⁶⁵ Oudaen.

⁶⁶ See Alás MS., *supra*, p. 2 sq. It is interesting to note how regularly a certain group of Flushing skippers frequented the Guiana coast. Jan Pieterse had been up the Amazon and on the Wiapoco before 1615. Pieter Adriaansz, in the ‘Golden Cock,’ had conveyed De Moor’s colonists up the Amazon in 1616, and his vessel was burnt by the Portuguese in the mouth of that river in 1623. Pieter Jansz visited the Amazon and Wiapoco and other Guiana rivers in 1623–4; but Raleigh had met him at Cayenne some years earlier (see above, p. 16, note 58). In 1625 Luoifer in the ‘Arent,’ and Van Stabels in the ‘Vliegende Draeck,’ carried Captain Oudaen and his settlers to Corupá, and afterwards visited all the rivers of Guiana as far as the Orinoco. In 1626 (De Laet, p. 78) Lucifer and Van Stabels again visited the Amazon, and later in the same year Jan Pieterse in the ‘Leeuwin’ is reported in that river (*ibid.* p. 91). All three took part in the expedition to Wiapoco in 1627. Next year, 1628, Van Stabels, in a ship called ‘De Fortuyn,’ took some colonists of Jan de Moor to the island of Tobago. He then joined the fleet of Admiral Pieter Adriaansz Ita, in which Pieterse was also sailing in the ‘Leeuwin.’ It was the gallantry of Pieterse that chiefly led to the famous capture by Pieter Adriaansz of the Honduras galleons, and it was Van Stabels who was commissioned by the admiral to assist the ‘Leeuwin’ in carrying home the spoil from the Spanish admiral’s ship.

⁶⁷ *Jaerlijck Verhaal*, p. 112.

they had brought, so the 10th they began to unlade their goods and bring them ashore; the savages took flight in terror, the true cause of which they learnt first on the 13th from a negro who came to them and told them that a bark and two sloops with white men [*Christenen*] had come out of the River of the Amazons and had stopped here for a month, and when afterwards they had divided themselves in four places, the savages had unexpectedly fallen upon them and killed all but three, of whom one was in Comaribo, and the two others higher up the river Wiapoco. When our people had heard this they laid hold of three savages and a woman that were on board and sent to Comaribo for the Dutchman, threatening to kill the captured savages if they did not bring him. Next day the man was brought on board, but they got little clearly from him, because (a strange circumstance) he had almost forgotten his mother tongue, so search was made for the other two, the which first came on board on the 17th. The one named Jan Hendricksz told them the whole circumstances of these slaughters; namely, that about eighteen months ago the Spaniards and Portuguese had come in great numbers, and had unexpectedly fallen upon the colony in the River of the Amazons, which had been made there under the command of Captain Oudaen, and that the same, after that he had bravely defended himself against the enemy for half a day, had betaken himself to his bark with the loss of seven or eight men; and had sailed to the creek, where the English had stayed them to barter there some provisions with them. The captain with eleven or twelve men having landed at the English settlement,⁶⁸ the enemy made their entry into the same creek with their cannon, and had attacked the English as well as the Netherlanders, and slain them all. The next day Lieutenant Pieter de Bruyne, having learnt this, betook himself to the bark with six and forty men still surviving, and fled to the river Wiapoco, and had there settled down, hoping to be safe. But after they had been there two or three days, Sergeant Marruyt shot the lieutenant, and the folk split up into four parties. The savages meanwhile, having resolved amongst themselves to get quit of these guests, came to them under pretext of friendship with their drink, that they call Pernau, and having made the folk quite drunk, with a loud cry fell upon them, and slew them with axes and hatchets, with the exception of these three⁶⁹ alone, whom they spared.

The expedition under Pedro Teixeira in 1625 thus completely achieved the object of its mission—the expulsion of the Dutch from Corupá. Not content with this, he pursued the fugitives, and finding that some of them had landed at the English settlement on the Okian, he swept this, in its turn, out of existence, English and Dutch perishing in one indiscriminate slaughter. He next turned his attention to the Irish. According to an eye-witness,

⁶⁸ Jesse des Forestes speaks of this settlement as on the creek Okian.

⁶⁹ The three were probably spared because of their familiarity with the Indian tongue. The first-named Dutchman had evidently been a factor among the Indians of many years' standing, since he had almost forgotten his mother tongue. It may be assumed that Jan Hendricksz, of whom we shall learn more later, was not a Dutchman; it will be shown that he was in all probability a Swiss from Benken, near Zürich.

Gaspar Chillan, the Irish (he himself was one of them) were seventy in number, the name of their captain was James Purcell,⁷⁰ and without fighting they surrendered their fort, which, according to Jesse des Forestes, stood on the Taurege. They did this in the hope that their community of religion with the Portuguese would secure them favourable treatment. Probably Teixeira was unable to restrain his fierce followers, who, in their blind hatred against the intruding foreigners, were careless of nationality. Fifty-four of the miserable Irishmen were butchered in cold blood, the rest sent as prisoners to S. Luis. Here another eye-witness, the Jesuit Padre Luis Figueira, records their presence in the following year, 1626, and it is significant that he speaks of Purcell as a Hollander.⁷¹

These vigorous proceedings had now effectually cleared the river, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the Cabo do Norte. The attacks of the Hispano-Portuguese being directed, not from the sea, but from the point of junction of the river Pará with the main stream, the lowest factories, protected as they were by the frequent presence of armed Dutch ships, would be the last to survive. Accordingly, during the next two or three years, in the minutes of proceedings of the Zeeland chamber of the Dutch West India Company, and in De Laet's *Jaerlijck Verhaal*, notices may be found of trading still carried on with the Amazons; those entries cease in 1628. This, indeed, was the date of the last attempt at settlement on the Lower Amazon in which Dutchmen took part. The account of this settlement and of its fate is told at some length by Padre Luis Figueira,⁷² and is so manifestly derived from personal knowledge acquired on the spot that the sequence of events, as given by him, may be confidently followed.

In 1626 Manuel de Sousa de Sáa succeeded Maciel Parente as captain-general of Grão Pará. From the new governor, on his arrival, James Purcell obtained leave, through the good offices of an ecclesiastic (*certo religioso*), to embark with some of his companions for his own country. They sailed after some delay, and finally in the autumn of 1627 reached Spain in the company of Maciel Parente himself, and from thence were sent home—probably to England. They at once set to work to raise capital and organise an expedition with the object of settling again on the Amazon, and resuming their former trade in tobacco and other commodities. The enterprise seems to have been confined to no particular

⁷⁰ Diogo Porse. The evidence of Gaspar Chillan has been already referred to. This early date of Purcell's surrender was unknown to Berredo, who has been followed by Southey, Da Silva, and other later writers in placing it in 1629.

⁷¹ 'Relação de algumas Cousas tocantes ao Maraohão e Gram Pará escrita pello P. Luis Figueira da Comp^a de Jesus, superior da residencia que o p^o tem no dito Maranhão, 1631' (see Espada, app., pp. 122-31). 'Entre os prisioneiros q ali avia era hum chamado Diogo Porse, Olandes de nação.'

⁷² *Op. cit.*

nationality, for Figueira mentions later, among the bearers of a flag of truce, three Scotsmen, but, according to his testimony, the bulk of those whose subsequent surrender he relates were Dutch. In April 1628 the new colonists arrived at the island of Tucujú, close to Purcell's previous settlement on the Taurege, where they erected a strong fort well provided with artillery, and began to plant and barter with the natives.

At the beginning of 1629 the news reached the ears of Sousa de Saá, who at once sent Pedro da Costa⁷³ with 30 or 40 Portuguese soldiers and 800 Indians to capture the newcomers. Da Costa, however, even with such a force, found himself too weak for his task, and retired to Corupá. Reinforcements were sent, and with them Teixeira, who, after his junction with Da Costa, found himself in command of no less than 120 Portuguese and 1,600 Indians. These he embarked in 88 canoes, and on 28 Sept. arrived before what Figueira calls the Dutch fort. A regular siege ensued, but so stout was the resistance that not till 24 Oct. did the garrison surrender, and then on very favourable terms for those times. It was stipulated that they should keep their property and be sent back to their own country. Scarcely had Teixeira left with his prisoners for Corupá when a number of English vessels under a certain Captain North entered the Amazon, who, had they but arrived earlier, would have been strong enough to relieve the beleaguered garrison of Tucujú. These Englishmen in their turn built a fort a short distance lower down the river than Purcell's, and in the following year were, like their predecessors, expelled by Teixeira.⁷⁴

The Portuguese were from this time onwards masters of the Lower Amazon. After 1625 ingress to the main stream was barred at Corupá, and after 1629 such desultory trading on the part of the Dutch as still continued was confined to the immediate neighbourhood of the Cabo do Norte, and owed its existence to the passing visits of vessels laden with stores for one or more of the colonies on the Guiana coast. How completely trade in the Amazon had been abandoned in 1642 is proved conclusively by a petition addressed by a certain Gideon Morris to the directors of the Zealand chamber in that year.⁷⁵ Largely owing to previous re-

⁷³ This is the first mention recorded of this man's name. Pedro da Costa (Favella) accompanied Teixeira on his famous voyage of 1637-8, and was still active in 1686, after a long life spent in slave-raiding and exploration.

⁷⁴ The historians of the expeditions of Teixeira during the seven years between 1623 and 1630 are full of errors and confusion. The above narrative, drawn entirely from contemporary sources, may be regarded as furnishing an accurate and trustworthy account of what actually occurred during the period named.

⁷⁵ Rijk's Archief at the Hague, W.I.C., O. C. no. 57, Brazilie, 1642. Gideon Morris speaks of himself as a Zelander. Barlaeus, *Brasilianische Geschichte* (1659), p. 630, makes mention of this man in these terms: 'In selbiger Insel (Marangnasia) hat auch einer mit Nahmen Gideon Mauris, ein Salzwerck bey Upamena gefunden.'

presentations of this man,⁷⁶ and stirred by the reports concerning Pedro Teixeira's great voyage, just completed, an expedition had been sent from the Recife⁷⁷ to extend the Dutch domain northwards by the capture of São Luis do Maranhão. This conquest was actually effected by Admiral Lichthardt; but Gideon Morris was far from satisfied. In the petition above mentioned, dated 'St. Lowys de Merenjoh'n,' 7 April 1642, he proceeded to put forth long arguments to show that the possession of Maranhão would be useless without that of Grão Pará and the Amazon.⁷⁸ They are too prolix to reproduce, and it is not necessary, but throughout they assume that the Lower Amazon was now entirely in Portuguese hands⁷⁹ and that the Dutch connexion with it had ceased. The recapture of Maranhão by the Portuguese in this same year, 1642, put a stop for ever to the dreams of Morris and to the further consideration of his proposal by the West India Company. Even as early as 1643, a petition from the inhabitants to the king of Portugal, João IV, shows that at that date the whole of the lands from the River of Maranhão to the River of Vicente Pinzon, along the coast, and inland as far as Corupá, had been already granted and occupied. From this time forward, alike as sites for factories and avenues for commerce with the interior, the mouths of the Amazon were sealed to the Dutch.

GEORGE EDMUNDSON.

⁷⁶ Rijk's Archief at the Hague, 'Resolutie Boeck Kamer Zeeland,' 1640-1, under dates 6 Feb. and 8 Feb. 1640.

⁷⁷ The capital of Dutch Brazil, which in 1640 extended over a vast extent of coast from the Rio Francisco to the Rio Real. Since this article was written two earlier papers of Gideon Morris have come into my hands. They are in the Rijk's Archief at the Hague, 'Secrete Notulen van de Vergadering van de Negentien,' 1629-1645. These papers completely bear out the contention above, and show that even in 1631 Dutch trading in the Amazon had ceased. Gideon Morris was eight years a prisoner in the hands of the Portuguese, and his descriptions of Maranhão and Pará in 1631 and 1640 are among the earliest and most complete in existence, and are full of interesting detail. The titles of the two papers are: (1) 'Korte deductie ofte beschryvinge . . . nopende de gelegentheid der plaats en in Noort Brasil, genaempt Marian ofte Maranhon, Cameta, Gram Para en andere rivieren liggende int begrip der faemryck reviere van d'Amazones . . . met alle de gelegentheid ende omstandigheden, gelyck ick deselve gelaten hebbe den 11 November 1631. Door Gedeon Morris de Jonge. Tot Middelbourg den 22 October overgelevert; (2) 'Corte verhael wegen de Maranhon overgelevert den 3 Febrero 1640 door Gedeon Morris ende Jean Maxwell.'

⁷⁸ 'De conqweste van de Merenjoh'n wert verstaen Gran Pará en de reviere van de Amasonis, alsoo deselve onder een Gouvernement behooren, ende soo noedich de eene aende andere, dat de eene sonder de andere niet wel en connen bestaan.'

⁷⁹ 'Hoe meniche onnoosele coloniers hebben sy mordadich om den hals gebracht . . . en wat is doch het begin van haer besit geweest niet anders dan een roof die sy van ons ende andere natien gerooft hebben . . . hier onder de Portugysen een groot getal sijn van de natien van de Arrowacus Tocheans en Wackeans die altemaele slaeven gemaect syn om onsent wille, om dat sy ons daer wy als colloniers in de Amasonis laegen hulp en bystand hebben gedaen . . . daer is doch den handel van zee-coyen verwe ende catoen daer voor deesen menichte scheepen goede reisen op gemaect.'

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The Dutch on the Amazon and Negro in the Seventeenth Century

PART II.—DUTCH TRADE IN THE BASIN OF THE RIO NEGRO.

COMMERCIAL intercourse between the Dutch settlers on the Essequibo and the native tribes of the far interior began very early in the seventeenth century. Evidence exists in the well-known narrative of Padre Christoval de Acuña¹ which proves that already in 1639 Dutch wares, brought by traders from the north, were found in the possession of Indians living in the delta which divides the Amazon from the Negro. The passage runs thus:—

Thirty-two leagues from the mouth of the river Cuchigara there is another on the north side, called by the natives Basururu,² which divides

¹ *Nuevo Descubrimiento del Gran Rio de las Amazonas*. Madrid, 1641. The Jesuit father Christoval de Acuña, by order of King Philip IV, accompanied the expedition of Pedro Teixeira on its return voyage from Quito to Pará as official historiographer. The translation is partly taken from Sir Clements Markham's *Valley of the Amazons*, pp. 108, 110, 111 (Hakluyt Society), but carefully compared with the Spanish original.

² The name of this river, like those of many others, has changed since the time of Acuña, the reason of this being that the original natives were entirely driven away or destroyed by the Portuguese slave-raiders. The Spanish missionary Samuel Fritz, ascending the river in 1691, recounts in his journal (MS. Bibl. Nac. de Evora) that he found the shore between the mouths of the Negro and Cuchiguara entirely deserted. The name, however, survived till 1755, when it occurs for the last time in a report of Governor Mendouça Furtado. It now bears the name Macracapuru. The description of this river by Lieut. Kerndon, U.S. Navy, in 1854 proves the identity: '4 Jan., at 7 p.m., we stopped at the village of Pescará, at the mouth of the Lake Macracapuru, forty-five miles from the mouth of the Purus (*i.e.* the eastern mouth). It is situated on an eminence 100 feet high. The entrance to the lake is bold and wide, quite 300 yards across. A man of Pescara told me it takes two days' journey to the opening of the lake; that the lake was very long and about three miles wide; that it was full of islands, and that no one knew its unner extremity.'

the land into great lakes, where there are many islands, which are peopled by numerous tribes. The land is high. . . . In general they call all the natives who inhabit this broad region Carabuyanas, but more precisely the tribes into which they are divided are as follows: the Caraguanas, &c. . . . These Indians use bows and arrows, and some of them have iron tools, such as axes, knives, and mattocks. On asking them carefully, through their language, whence these things came, they answered they bought them of those Indians who in this direction are nearer the sea, and that these received them from some white men, like ourselves, who use the same arms, swords, and arquebuses and who dwell upon the sea coast. They added that these white men could only be distinguished from ourselves by their hair, which is all yellow. These are sufficient signs that they are the Hollanders, who have possession of the mouth of the Rio Dulce,³ or Felipe. These Hollanders, in 1638, landed their forces in Guiana, in the jurisdiction of the new kingdom of Granada, and not only got possession of the settlement, but the affair was so sudden that our people were unable to take away the most holy sacrament, which remained captive in the hands of its enemies. As they knew how much this capture was valued among catholics, they hoped for a large ransom for it. When we left these parts the Spaniards were preparing some good companies of soldiers, who, with Christian zeal, were ready to give their lives to rescue their Lord, with whose favour they will doubtless attain their worthy desires.

In this passage it will be noticed that Acuña, though himself, as his whole narrative shows, entirely ignorant of the geography of the country lying to the north of the river Amazon, evidently reports with great accuracy the information gathered from the natives. The iron wares which they possessed are brought to them by other Indians in that—*i.e.* northern—direction, nearer the sea. These Indians, as will be shown later, were Caribs from the district of north-west Guiana, lying between the lower river Essequibo and the Orinoco. These Caribs were for the greater part of two centuries not only the close allies but the commercial emissaries of the Dutch in their dealings with the tribes of the interior. The name by which the Dutch were known to the Caribs, and by their agency to all the Indians of Guiana, was *Paranaghiri*,⁴ meaning 'men from the sea.' When Acuña writes that the iron goods came from 'white men who dwelt upon the sea coast,' he was reproducing the literal translation made by his interpreter of a word which, in the mouth of the speakers, signified Dutchmen. The reference to the raid upon Santo Thomé, of which an account

³ Rio Dulce was the early name given to the river Essequibo. So it appears in the maps of Ortelius, 1587; of Mercator, 1595; Hondius, 1602, and others. Acuña had heard that the Dutch had had settlements on the Rio Felipe, at the mouth of the Amazon, and he evidently thought Felipe an alternative for Dulce. He speaks a little further on of 'Dulce o el Felipe.'

⁴ See Schomburgk's edition of Raleigh's *Guiana*, notes, pp. 9 and 77. To this day it is the name by which the Dutch and their successors, the English, are known to the tribes of the Parimé-Rupununi savannahs.

was given in the *English Historical Review* for 1901,⁵ is a touch which leaves no possibility of doubt that the narrator identified 'these fair-haired white men' with the colonists of Essequibo.

This is further borne out, and moreover the route of communication indicated, by a passage in the Jesuit father's next section. After speaking of the tribes who inhabit the Rio Negro, he adds—

And the first inhabitants of a branch that this river throws off, by which, according to my informants, it finds exit into the Rio Grande, in whose mouth the Hollanders are living, are the Guaranaguazanas.

He then proceeds to recommend that the spot at which this branch discharges itself into the Rio Negro should be fortified,

so that the passage to the enemy to all this new world shall remain entirely closed, that without doubt cupidity will essay one day. I do not hesitate to affirm that the Rio Grande, into which this branch of the Negro discharges itself, is the Dulce or the Felipe.

Amidst much that is vague and obscure in this paragraph, in which Acuña confesses to his inability to distinguish between the various rivers upon whose mouths he had heard of Dutch settlements,⁶ the fact distinctly emerges that the branch of the Rio Negro to which he is referring is that known later by the name of the Rio Branco, and that the communication of which he speaks is that between the head waters of this river and those of the Rupununi, a tributary of the Essequibo. The position of this 'branch' is indeed identified by the fact that the Guaranaguazanas were still living at the mouth of the Branco in 1775,⁷ and amidst all his con-

⁵ 'The Dutch in Western Guiana,' *ante*, vol. xvi. pp. 671-3. The following from a report of the commander of the relief expedition mentioned by Acuña is given to make the reference absolutely clear: 'Escribiola el sargento maior Diego Ruiz Maldonado, en el biaxe que llevo el socorro a la Guiana por horden de Don Martin de Saabedra y Guzman, presidente, governador y capitan-general del Nuebo Reino de Granada. . . . El año de 1638 asalto el enemigo Olandes la Ciudad de Sante Thomé de Guaiana, quemola y sus templos, llevose la custodia del santissimo sacramento, teniendole como prisionero en su fuerça de Esquibo con guardia. A el socorro y restauracion de lo perdido embio Don Martin de Saavedra y Guzman, un tercio de mas de duzientos ynfantes,' &c., 1638-9. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. MS. H. 180.

⁶ In the Spanish manuscripts which refer to the attack on Sante Thomé in 1637 the Dutch are described as being settled not only on the Essequibo but on the Amacuru within the mouth of the Orinoco. It was from Amacuru that the attacking force actually set out. Acuña confused these two settlements with one another, and with those other settlements at the mouth of the Amazon destroyed by Teixeira in 1628-9. The Rio Dulce (Essequibo), Rio Felipe (northern mouth of Amazon), and Rio Grande (Orinoco) were to him one and the same river, *i.e.* the river colonised by the Dutch.

⁷ F. X. Ribeiro de Sampaio, auditor intendente-general of the captaincy of Rio Negro, in his *Diario da Viagem*, 1775, section cccxli., speaking of the village of Carvoeiro, on the south bank of the Negro, says, 'This village consists of the Manoa, Paraviana, and Uaranáocacena tribes . . . opposite this village the river Uarancoa discharges itself. It was formerly occupied by the Uaranáocacena tribe.' The river Uaranacoa is one of the mouths of the Branco; the Uaranáocacena are the Guaranaguazanas of Acuña.

fusion of nomenclature the father lets it be clearly understood that he believes the northern river to be the Dulce, or Essequibo.

The evidence of Acuña may therefore be conveniently summarised in the two following statements:—

(1) That the Dutch of Essequibo carried on a trade in iron goods and other wares with the natives of the interior which extended as far as the banks of the Rio Negro.

(2) That this trade followed the Rupununi-Branco route and was conducted by the agency of Indians who dwelt near the coast.

We will now take each of these statements and see whether they can be substantiated by evidence from other sources:—

(1) In Major John Scott's 'Description of Guiana'⁸ the writer states that he derived much of his information from two men 'who happened to be prisoners to the author in his voyage to Guiana, 1665,' when he commanded an English invading force, and whom he describes as 'the two greatest travellers that ever were in Guiana of Christians.' The one was Matthias Matteson, of whom mention has already been made.⁹ 'The other,' to quote Scott's words, 'was one Hendrickson, a Switz by nation, that had served some Dutch merchants in those parts twenty-seven years in quality of a factor with the upland Indians of Guiana.' Of the upland Indians he says—

The Occowyes, Shawhauns, and Semicorals are great, powerful nations that live in the uplands of Guiana, either under the line or in south latitude, and there hath none soe conversed with them as to make a judgment of their numbers, but its most certaine they are settled in a most fertile country, and cover a vast tract of land, beginning at ye Mountains of the Sun on the west and north, and extending themselves to Rio Negro, 500 miles south and east; a famous river there empties itself into the Great Amazones. They had constant warr with some nations on the islands in the Amazones, and are often gauld by the willey Careebs, who often when they are ingaged abroad visett their townes to their noe small prejudice.

It will be observed that, according to Scott, the activities of this Hendrickson, as factor to the upland Indians, began in 1637 or 1638, at a date earlier, therefore, than Acuña's visit to the Basururú. The Dutch merchants that he served must have been Jan de Moor and Company, for these were the only private firm of merchants privileged to trade in the colony of Essequibo.¹⁰ The names of the tribes with whom he had relations, under the disguise of the Englishman's spelling, convey but little information. Under the form 'Occowyes,' indeed, it is not difficult to recognise the Ackawois or Accuways, the widely extended group of tribes

⁸ Brit. Mus., Sloane MS. 3662, fol. 37 verso; see *ante*, vol. xvi. p. 641.

⁹ *Ante*, vol. xvi. p. 641, xviii. pp. 653 seq.

¹⁰ *Ante*, vol. xvi. pp. 669-74.

who are spread over the middle or forest region of Guiana. With regard to the 'Shawhauns,' Scott says in his 'Description of the River Amazonas,'¹¹ 'It is most certaine that there is both gold, silver, and emerald in many of the countries on or adjacent to the Amazonas, as at Swanis, near the source of the Black River.' The 'Shahauns' and the 'Swanis' are but different ways of transcribing 'Suanes,' a tribe living between the Amazon and the Negro, whose name may be found in Delisle's map¹² of 1700 between two sites marked *village d'or* and *mines d'or*. The 'Semicorals' are more difficult to identify, but it appears not to be unlikely that the word may be a corruption of Kenicarus or Cenicarus,¹³ the name by which the apparelled Indians of the Parimé, spoken of by many early writers, were known. If this is the case these tribal names would seem to have been chosen as representative of three different zones of Hendrickson's trading: the first, that of the 'Occowyes,' between the Upper Essequibo, Mazaruni, and Rupununi; the second, that of the 'Semicorals,' in the Branco basin; the third, that of the 'Shawhauns,' in the delta of the Negro.

While Scott's account of Hendrickson carries back the beginning of his service as factor for Jan de Moor & Co. to 1638, there is reason to believe that this was not the first time that the Switzer had acted as factor in Essequibo. In 1627, as we have mentioned,¹⁴ Admiral Lucifer, when taking out colonists to the river Wiapoco, found three survivors of Captain Oudaen's settlement at Corupá; one of these, a Dutchman, had almost forgotten his mother tongue, and another, the spokesman of the fugitives, apparently not a Dutchman, was Jan Hendrickson. It may be assumed that Lucifer carried this man back with him to report to the West India Company's directors the destruction of their Amazon colony. They reached Flushing on 25 Oct. In the minutes of the Zeeland chamber¹⁵ for 10 April 1628 may be found a resolution that the ship 'Armuyden' be commissioned to carry out thirty-five men to various places on the wild coast of

¹¹ Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS. A, 175.

¹² Venezuelan Atlas, no. 36. Acuña, describing the low-lying land between the mouth of the Japura and the Negro, its lakes, and connecting streams, says, 'Islands are formed which are peopled by many tribes, but that which is largest and most populous is the Island of Zuanas.' In Delisle's map of 1703 the name is written 'Zuanas.'

¹³ These Indians, who wore clothes and hats, are mentioned by Raleigh, Keymis, Acuña, and others. Schomburgk, in his edition of Raleigh's *Guiana*, quotes in his note Hartzinck's *Beschryving van Guiana* as saying, 'The borders of Lake Parimé are inhabited by numerous natives; some are clothed,' and himself observes, 'We have little doubt that the clothed Indians alluded to by Hartzinck were Kenicarus or half-civilised Indians, who came from the river Branco.' See also Spix and Martius, *Reise in Brasilien*, iii. 1303 (1831).

¹⁴ *Ante*, vol. xviii. pp. 659, 660; De Laet, *Jaerlijck Verhael*, pp. 112, 117.

¹⁵ Rijk's Archief, The Hague, W.I.C., O. C. 'Resolutie Boeck. Kamer Zeeland.' *Brit. Case Venez.*, app., i. 64.

Guiana, the final destination being Essequibo. On 17 April the minutes record, 'Jan Hendrickson Benckelaer engaged to lie on the wild coast as assistant for three years;' and under date 26 April 1632, 'Benckelaer coming from Essequibo shall be paid his wages.' Everything points to the identity of this Jan Hendrickson with the man rescued on the Wiapoco, the surname of 'Benckelaer,' as was not uncommon in the early seventeenth century, being given to him on account of his birthplace and to distinguish him from others with the same patronymic. Benckelaer apparently means a 'man of Bencken,' and the only places bearing that name are in Switzerland.¹⁶ The man's previous experience on the Amazon would naturally lead to his employment in pushing on trade with the inland tribes living in the direction of that river, such as we find him, according to Scott, actually engaged upon. Moreover the incentive which induced him to seek for the post of factor on the Essequibo may have come from accounts given to him of precious stones to be found in the upper reaches of that river. For Hendrickson had a predecessor in the exploitation of the far interior of Guiana.

The story is interesting and shall be told at length as illustrative of the Dutch methods of trading with the Wild Coast, and of the importance of the Essequibo colony as early as 1625. We have seen¹⁷ how the French *pères de famille*, under Jesse des Forestes, after their unfortunate experience as colonists at Wiapoco, had, in the early summer of 1625, been taken on board the 'Vliegende Draeck' by Geleyn van Stabels, of Flushing, by order of the West India Company's directors. Stabels had been with Admiral Lucifer in the 'Arent,' convoying Captain Oudaen and his settlers to Corupá, and now he and his chief, as was the custom of the time, were coasting slowly along to their ultimate destination, Essequibo, calling as they went at the various river mouths. On 13 August the two ships were together at Seriname, and sailed thence on the 14th, the 'Arent' apparently direct for Essequibo, the 'Draeck,' however, stopping *en route* at Berbice and Demerary. The Demerary was reached on the 15th, and on the following day Stabels left in his long boat for the Essequibo to see the admiral and learn his wishes. Six days later the long boat returned with instructions for the 'Draeck' to go to the Essequibo and fetch the remainder of the merchandise which the Admiral had left. Lucifer himself seems to have stayed at Fort Kijkoveral, which, according to Scott, was founded in 1616, while the 'Arent' had left possibly on a cruise to the mouth of the Orinoco. Again, after another interval of six days, the 'Draeck' returned to Demerary

¹⁶ There are two places named Bencken, one to the west of the Lake of Züri (h General Byam in 1665 speaks of 'one younker Hendryck, a Switts' (*infra* p 17).

¹⁷ *Anle*, vol. xviii. pp. 656-8.

with the admiral on board, and then discharged him and the cargo on board the 'Arent,' which was proceeding straight home.¹⁸

It will be seen that Jesse des Forestes himself spent six days at Kijkoveral. While there, he tells us, he met a fellow countryman, with whom he naturally conversed. The passage of the journal which relates what passed between them is worth quoting.

I saw there a Frenchman that had spent three years there, who showed me a piece of rock crystal as big as two fists, through which one could see a man's features, so clear it was. He told me that he had taken it above the second fall of the river, where there was a mine of crystal, and that it was found at the foot of a mountain, where it consisted of very large stones that the force of the waters had torn away, and with which one could fill infinite canoes. He gave a piece of the stone that he had to Geleyn van Stabels, of Flushing.¹⁹

The possessor of the crystals was plainly a *ligger*, or trading factor, in the Dutch service, who had completed the usual three years' term of his engagement.²⁰ He was doubtless a French refugee,²¹ like Jesse des Forestes, himself and his companions, the *pères de famille*, and a servant of Jan de Moor & Co. It is important to observe that he claims to have himself explored the

¹⁸ Brit. Mus., Sloane MS. 179, B; *Brit. Case Venez.*, app., i. 61: 'Le douzième d'Acoust, nous partismes de Soraname pour aller à Ezikebe. Le troisième nous arrivâmes à Seraname ou nous trouvâmes l'Aigle Noir Vice-Admiral de Lucifer qui avoit pris quelques bois de lettre que ses gens avoient coupés. Le quatorzième nous arrivâmes au droit de Berbise où nous envoyâmes la chaloupe pour traicter. Le quinzième nous arrivâmes à Demelari. Le seizième notre chaloupe fut à Ezikebe pour porter notre maître au bord de l'Amiral de sçavoir sa volonté . . . le vingt-deuxième notre chaloupe estant de retour, nostre navire fut à Ezikebe querer le reste des marchandises que l'Amiral y avoit laissé. Le vingt-huitième nous retournâmes d'Ezikebe enclust [*sic*] à Demelari le 1, 2, et 3, nous débarquâmes l'Amiral et Dragen verd dans l'Aigle Noir qui devait retourner au pays.' That the vessels actually went to Kijkoveral is shown by the map accompanying this narrative, where their course among the islands and up the estuary is accurately marked, and their anchorage opposite the island of Kijkoveral. That they were then able, without apparent difficulty, to make their way so far up this stream is evidence that its navigation was familiarly known. *Comp. ante*, vol. xvi. pp. 667-8.

¹⁹ Sloane MS. 179 B. *Brit. Case Venez.*, app., i. 62. Geleyn van Stabels is thus a link of connexion between the Frenchman and Jan Hendrickson.

²⁰ *Brit. Case Venez.*, app., i. 63-5. Extracts from the proceedings of the Zeeland chamber. '17 Dec. 1626, Johannes Beverlander is taken into the company's service for three years to lie (*ligger*) in the River of Isekepe. 23 Aug. 1627, it was resolved to raise the wages of Jan van der Goes in Essequibo after his first three years (for which he is bound to the company). 13 April 1628, Jan van Woerden, of Flushing, is engaged for 20 guilders a month to lie in the Amazon for the space of three years. 17 April 1628, Jan Hendrickson Benckelaer is engaged to lie on the Wild Coast as assistant for the space of three years. Also Burger Graeff was engaged to lie on the Wild Coast for the space of three years.'

²¹ If this Frenchman returned home, as is not improbable, in the ship of Geleyn van Stabels, he may be identical with Claude Prevost, with whom in 1626 De Moor made arrangements for taking out some colonists to Cayenne; but this is merely conjecture. *Brit. Case Venez.*, app., i. 63.

interior of the country and to have seen the crystal mine with his own eyes. This crystal mine, as later evidence from Dutch sources with high probability indicates,²² lies far to the south (in 3° 20' N. lat.); on the Calikko or Canuku Mountains, close to the river Takutú, and the personal exploitation of it by this Dutch factor shows that already before 1625 commercial and friendly relations had been established between the agents of the authorities at Kijkoveral and the tribes living in the Parimé (Branco) basin.

It is in vain that we look through the meagre official records that have survived²³ for reference to this far inland traffic of the colonists. They deal in the briefest manner only with the most necessary details of administration. The almost unintentional allusions to this traffic, however, in the two curiously interesting Sloane manuscripts²⁴ not only furnish proof that it existed during a period of at least forty years before 1665, but also, when read in the light thrown upon them by the statement of Acuña, afford reasonable evidence for supposing that its existence was continuous.

(2) We now turn to the second branch of our inquiry, which again divides itself into two heads. First, what was the route these Dutch traders followed; and secondly, who were the Indians, spoken of by Acuña, who acted as their agents? A passage, to be quoted directly, from Captain Keymis's²⁵ narrative of his voyage to Guiana in 1596 will be found to suggest the answers to both queries.

It does not fall within my purpose to enter at length into any account of the mythical Lake Paytiti, of the golden city of Manoa, and of El Dorado, the Gilded King. It is sufficient to say that during the whole of the sixteenth century the legend of this treasure-house of the southern continent exercised a marvellous fascination over men's minds, and that adventurer after adventurer perished in the vain search for the mystic lake, which rumour placed now in one now in another of many widely separated localities within the vast area of the Amazon basin.²⁶ The famous voyage of Sir Walter

²² *Brit. Case Venez.*, app., iv. 39. See the despatch of the W.I.C. directors to director-general, Essequibo, 9 Oct. 1769. 'So we come to your letter of 3 June last, containing an ample account of the various discoveries made by the postholder of Arinda, Gerrit Janssen, in his journey to the Crystal Mine, otherwise called the Calikko Mountain.'

²³ No extant Dutch records refer to the beginnings of the settlement, and all the records for the period 1645-1657 are lost.

²⁴ The manuscripts of Scott and Des Forrestes, Sloane 3662 and 179 B.

²⁵ Cayley's *Life of Raleigh*, i. 159, 236, 283; Schomburgk's edition of Raleigh's *Discovery of the Empire of Guiana*, Intr., pp. 51-2; Humboldt and Bonplan's *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent*, 1799-1804, Eng. tr., v. 794. Schomburgk remarks that from the date of the publication of this passage 'the isthmus which is formed by the rivers Rupununi and Parima became the classical soil of El Dorado de Parima.'

²⁶ See Markham's introduction to *The Search for El Dorado*, 1560-1 (Hakluyt Society)

Raleigh to Guiana in 1595 was avowedly made in search for El Dorado, in the belief that the object of his quest was to be found in the Guiana hinterland. His converse with many natives in the course of his voyage confirmed him in this belief, which, through the publication of what may be styled his epoch-making *Discovery of the Empire of Guiana, with a Relation of the Great and Golden City of Manoa*, became rapidly, through many translations, diffused throughout Europe.²⁷ But Raleigh, although he indicated that Manoa 'is founded upon a lake of salt water of 200 leagues long, like unto Mare Caspiã,' did not give any actual data for fixing the exact position of his imaginary inland sea. This was reserved for his lieutenant, Captain Keymis, under whose command a second expedition was despatched to the coast of Guiana in 1596. Keymis, on his return, likewise published an account of his voyage, which contained the passage above referred to.

The Indians, to show the worthiness of Dessekebe (Essequibo), for it is very large and full of islands in the mouth, do call it the brother of Orinoque (Orinoco); it lieth southerly in the land, and from the mouth of it unto the bead they pass in twenty days; then taking their provisions, they carry it on their shoulders one day's journey; afterwards they return to their canoes, and bear them likewise to the side of a lake, which the Jaos call Roponowini, the Charibes Parime, which is of such bigness that they know no difference between it and the main sea. There be infinite numbers of canoes in this lake, and I suppose it is no other than that whereon Manoa standeth.

It is difficult to exaggerate the deep influence which the publication of this passage had upon the minds of geographers. Immediately the Dutchman Jodocus Hondius combined the descriptions of Raleigh and Keymis for the construction of his map entitled 'Nieuwe Caerte van het Goudrycke Landt Guiana, 1599.' In this map appears for the first time that great lake 200 leagues long and 40 broad, bearing the name Parimé, or FoPONOWINI,²⁸ and he fixed its position as covering what is now known to be the Rupununi-Parimé (Branco) Savannah. For 150 years from this date every map of Guiana contains this lake, and it was not until the result of the scientific explorations of Alexander von Humboldt were made known at the beginning of the nineteenth century that the belief in the existence of such a lake was at last dissipated. His

²⁷ An abridged Latin translation was published in Nuremberg, 1599, by Levinus Hulsius with five curious prints. The second of them represents 'Manoa o el Dorado' with part of the Essequibo River and the Indians carrying their boats and cargoes overland to the lake, as described by Keymis.

²⁸ On the lake is written a translation of Keymis's words, 'Dit Lac wordt van de Natie Canibales genaempt Parime, eude van de Jaos FoPONO Wini; ' so too the maps of same date of Hulsius and De Bry. See also later maps De Laet, 1624; Blaeuw, 1635, 1640-2; Sanson, 1656; and others. Most of these have simply Parime Lacus; Sanson, Parime, or RoPONOWINI. D'Anville in his great map of 1748 left it out for the first time on the authority of the Dutch explorer Nicolas Horstman.

conclusions were finally verified by the great traveller Sir Robert Schomburgk, who spent some eight years (1835–1844) in a personal investigation of the whole of Central Guiana. In a footnote to his edition of Raleigh ²⁹ Schomburgk gives the following explanation of Keymis's statement:—

From the southern foot of the Pacaraima Range extended the great savannahs of the Rupununi, Takutu, and Rio Branco or Parima, which occupy about 14,400 square miles, their average height above the sea being from 350 to 400 feet. These savannahs are inundated during the rainy season, and afford at that period, with the exception of a short portage, a communication between the Rupununi and the Pirara, a tributary of the Mahu or Ireng, which falls into the Takutu, and the latter into the Rio Branco or Parima.

The information which Keymis acquired in 1596 is thus shown to be on the whole marvellously accurate.³⁰ Even the period of twenty days is incidentally mentioned by a recent traveller ³¹ as that which it would normally take to proceed by canoe from the estuary of the Essequibo by way of the Rupununi to the Pirara portage.

Nowhere, not even in England itself, did the narratives of Raleigh and his lieutenant excite so much interest and such general attention as in the United Provinces. The idea of reaching the far-famed El Dorado by the route indicated by Keymis must henceforth have hovered before the eyes of the enterprising merchants, who were so eagerly on the look-out in the first decades of the seventeenth century for fresh avenues for profitable trade on the wild coast. It was not long in taking practical shape. The foundation of a settlement on the Essequibo in 1616, on an island 30 leagues inland, and at the point of junction of three rivers communicating with the far interior, and under the conduct of a man ³² who in the Spanish service on the Orinoco had,

²⁹ P. 76. A living traveller, Mr. Im Thurn, in his interesting book *Among the Indians of Guiana*, thus writes: 'Below at my feet lay a vast and level plain. . . . In the far distance the plain was bounded by the ridges of the Pacaraima Mountains, which were at that moment much hidden by dense white clouds. . . . Presently the sun began to shine with power, and lighted up each jutting fantastic point of this low-lying mist until the whole seemed a city of temples and towers, crowned with gilded spires and minarets. The level plain at my feet was the so-called lake Amococo or Parima, and the glittering cloud-city was on the supposed site of the fabled golden city of El Dorado or Manoa' (p. 36).

³⁰ *Exploracion oficial por la primera vez desde el Norte de la America del Sur*, por F. Michelena y Rojas, 1867. This author writes, 'It is in these parts that the valley of the Amazons communicates with that of Essequibo by means of the Avaricuru, a tributary of the Rupununi, which is united by a portage of a few hours' journey with Lake Amucu. . . . A short portage of 800 yards separates the basin of the Amazons from that of the Essequibo' (p. 419).

³¹ Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 31.

³² Scott's 'Description of Guiana,' Sloane MS. 3662. For a full discussion of the authenticity of Scott's account of the foundation of the Essequibo colony and other matters relating to its early history see *ante*, vol. xvi. p. 640 *et seqq.* One of the chief

according to Major John Scott, already acquired 'the good liking of the natives whose humours he perfectly understood,' is suggestive not of a plantation but of a trading post established for the opening up of traffic with the tribes of the hinterland. The firm of Zeeland merchants who sent out Groenewegen in 1616 were almost certainly the same as those in whose employment Hendrickson acted as 'factor with the upland Indians' from 1638 to 1665 (that is, Jan de Moor & Co.), and everything indicates that, from the first, commerce with the interior was a leading motive which prompted the enterprise.

Acuña in the paragraph already quoted states that the Indians on the Basururú had received iron goods from white men by the agency of other Indians, who lived nearer the sea. Who these Indians were is suggested by the extract we have given from Captain Keymis. After describing the Pirara portage he says that the Indians bear their canoes to the side of a lake called by the Jaos Roponowini, and by the Charibes Parimé. The Parimé was really the name not of a lake at all, but of a river, that is, of that great arm of the Rio Negro, now known as the Rio Branco, into which travellers from the Essequibo and Rupununi after crossing the Pirara portage descend by a series of navigable tributaries. The Caribs, it is clear, were not only familiar with the portage, but with the communication with the Rio Negro that lay beyond.

This is entirely in accordance with all we know about the Caribs from other sources. The Caribs, in the opinion of those who speak with most authority on the subject,³³ were, at the time of which we are treating, comparatively speaking, recent immigrants into Guiana. They were the most warlike and powerful of all the tribes, and yet, unlike the others, they occupied no distinct tract of the country which was specially their own. They are supposed to have originally inhabited the islands of the Caribbean Sea, and to have been driven thence to the mainland in the early days of European settlement in the West Indies. But, despite their warlike qualities, they made no attempt to subjugate the land which they had made their new home. Whether deterred by the near presence and menace of the white man or from other causes, when first known to history they are found scattered far and wide in small settlements among the other tribes, though far more thickly than elsewhere in the district between the Pomeroun and

points established in that article is that the colony was undoubtedly founded by private enterprise, and that private enterprise had a large part in its development even in the period after 1624, when it passed under the administration of the Zeeland chamber of the Dutch West India Company. The firm of Jan de Moor & Co., whose beginnings are recorded in the Alás MS., had, as the records show, a privileged position to trade in the colony.

³³ Im Thurn, pp. 173-5, &c.; Brett, *The Indian Tribes of Guiana*, pp. 315, 338, &c.

the Orinoco, the place, no doubt, where the first immigrants landed; but, though separated, these scattered communities were in constant communication with each other, the habit of the Caribs being to rove about in strong bands up and down the country, creating trade routes for themselves, and bartering goods and slaves either by good-will or by force. They, in fact, occupied a position apart among the other Indian natives, a position at once dominant and ubiquitous.

The following extracts³⁴ from Charles de Rochefort's *Histoire Naturelle et Morale des Antilles*, published in 1658, have an important bearing upon our subject, for they show that even in the middle of the seventeenth century this wide diffusion of the Caribs had excited attention, and also indicate the source from which the writer drew his information:—

It is a thing out of all controversie there are certain savages who bear the name of Carribeans in some quarters of the southerly part of America, where the Spaniards never had any commerce. For not only those of the same nation with our Islanders, who inhabit along those coasts of the Meridional America, and are neer neighbours to the Dutch Colonies of Cayenna and Burbica [Berbice], but also who live far within that Meridional Continent, beyond the sources of the most remarkable rivers, call themselves Caribbeans . . . And to give a more particular account of these Colonies of the Caribbeans, which are in the Meridional Continent of America . . . The Dutch relations acquaint us, that, advancing yet further towards the Æquator, there lies, at 7 degrees from that line, the great and famous River of Essequeba, neer which are planted first the Arougues [Arrawaks] and next the Caribbians, who are continually in war with them, and have their habitation above the falls of that River, which descend with great violence from the mountains; and thence these Caribbians reach to the source of the same River, and are very numerous and possessed of a vast territory.

Thus this French author testifies, in 1658, that the Caribs were to be found dwelling along the river of Essequibo above the falls, and for an indefinite distance beyond, and he cites the relations of Dutch travellers as his authorities.

This leads us to examine next what is known as to the relations of the Dutch with the Caribs at this time. The records that have come down to us show them to have been of the closest kind, and unique in the history of the dealings of white colonists in America with the native races. The friendship between the two peoples, which continued unbroken for wellnigh two centuries, appears, from certain despatches of the Spanish lieutenant-general in Trinidad, to have been already thoroughly cemented in 1614. In one of

³⁴ Our extracts are taken from an English translation by John Davies of Kidwell, 1666, pp. 205 and 226. It has been compared with the original and is a faithful rendering.

them³⁵ an account is given of the dislodgment by Captain Melchior Cortes of some Dutch settlers from a fort they had built on the river Corentine. Cortes states that the Dutch 'defended themselves courageously, with the assistance of the Carib folk, who likewise fought with equal courage.' In the fort, when captured, 'there was found burnt a very large quantity of booty—axes, knives, cutlasses, and other things with which they kept the Carib race at their disposal, whose daughters they used to marry.' In another, headed 'Razon del Estado de las cousas de la Isla de la Trinidad,'³⁶ the following passage occurs—

It is proved by the information of six witnesses that this island is generally surrounded by the Flemish and Caribs both by sea and land . . . the Caribs even coming as far as the city to rob and ill-treat them, which comes of their strong alliance with the Flemish, always moving together.

Twenty-three years after this the documents which recount the attack made upon Santo Thomé de Guayana in 1637 (of which mention is made by Acuña) furnish abundant material for our purpose. For example, the *cabildo* (corporation) of Guayana, in a report dated February 1638,³⁷ write—

This town is in a situation of great distress, with the enemy so near and powerful. The enemy hold seven towns on this coast, and all the Caribs are joined with them, and form a league and confederation with the object of destroying us, in order to occupy this river.

They then proceed to tell the story of the burning of Santo Thomé and the capture of the blessed sacrament, adding, 'The captain who has done this is called Captain Llanes, who speaks the Carib and Aruaca languages well.' Two years later, in a sworn deposition,³⁸ an officer of the relieving force sent from New Granada, after speaking of the Dutch settlements and fortifications, continues—

Captain Llanes commanded in Essequivo, and besides their own forces they are further protected by 10,000 to 12,000 Caribs, in the vicinity of whom they frequent and who are their allies.

Reasons have already been given by me for holding that this 'Captain Llanes' could be no other than Aert Adriaensz Groenewegen,³⁹ who first as head of the 'De Moor' settlers, then as

³⁵ *Brit. Case Venez.*, app., i. 31.

³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 57.

³⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 102, 103; see also pp. 110, 111, 115, 120, 121, 124, 128.

³⁸ Deposition of Captain Don Francisco de Salazar. Arch. Gen. de Indias, Simancas, secular audiencia de Santa Fé. Salazar in his deposition makes the interesting statement that the object of the attack of Captain Llanes was to set free a Dutchman named 'Monsieur,' who had been taken prisoner at Tobago and was their governor. This was Cornelis, son of Jan de Moor. See *ante*, vol. xvi. pp. 671-2.

³⁹ *Ante*, vol. xvi. pp. 671-2. 'Llanes' is the mispronunciation by the Spanish Indians of 'Adriaenz,' the patronymic by which Groenewegen was generally known.

commandeur for the Zeeland chamber, was for forty-eight years serving in Essequibo. According to Major John Scott he not only had very great influence and authority with the native tribes, but was one of the Dutch who married Carib wives.

This alliance, however, of the Dutch with the Caribs was one not for offensive and defensive purposes only, but for trade, and especially the trade in red slaves. Scott's remark that the Shawhauns and Semicorals, the Indian tribes of the Negro basin, with whom the factor Hendrickson trafficked, 'are often gauld by the willey [wily?] Careebs, who often when they are ingaged abroad visett their townes, to their noe small prejudice,' may be compared with the statement in a report of Major Diego Ruiz Maldonado in 1639: ⁴⁰ 'The Caribs sell these Lutherans the Indian women they steal from the villages, and thereby they are in their service, and they also barter pirogues to enter the rivers.' Moreover in a letter of the governor of Guayana to the king in 1637 we read, ⁴¹ 'The trade and traffic [of the Dutch in Essequibo] are very great, and the Indians frequent them very willingly for the sake of the considerable articles of barter they give them; and that trade and still more is increasing daily . . . and they are making every effort to extend further.' If this statement is compared with the information given to Acuña in 1639 by the Indians of the mouth of the Negro that 'they bought [their iron tools] of those Indians who in this direction are nearer the sea, and that these received them from some white men, like ourselves . . . who dwell upon the sea coast,' and who 'could only be distinguished from ourselves by their hair, which is all yellow,' it will be seen that all the lines of evidence converge to show that the Dutch of Essequibo did carry on, through their factors, a regular barter trade with the tribes of the Negro basin, and by the agency of Caribs. ⁴²

The method by which this trade was actually carried on is well described by Padre Joseph Gumilla, a Spanish Jesuit, who, having been a missionary ⁴³ on the Dutch borderland during the third and fourth decades of the eighteenth century, could from personal knowledge speak with authority on the subject. After saying that before the Dutch founded their colonies the principal objects of the

Many of the Indians cannot produce the 'r' sound. Thus Rupununi becomes Apononi.

⁴⁰ *Brit. Case Venez.*, app., i. 120.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 107.

⁴² The Caribs had colonies on the Branco, Negro, and Amazon, and even further south, from an early period. In Delisle's map of 1700, side by side with the Suanes (Shawhauns) are the Quarabes (Caribs). At one end of the Basururú we find the Caribans, at the other the Caripunans, local names for Caribs. In the following century the Caripunans of the Parimé savannah are constantly mentioned as the friends and agents of the Dutch. Schomburgk (*Raleigh*, p. 56) comments on the interchangeability of 'p' and 'b' in the Indian dialects. Carapana = Caribiana.

⁴³ He was for a number of years head of the Jesuit mission in Guiana.

war among the native tribes was to capture the women and children he proceeds—

But since the Dutch established themselves on this coast the object of the war was changed, and now has no other aim than the commerce and profit that results from it, because the Dutch buy from the Caribs as many prisoners as they bring, and even pay them in advance. . . . The fleets of the Caribs go up stream, and they buy from friendly tribes all the captives that they have been able to make in their wars, that are as barbarous as they are unjust, the price of each captive being two axes, two choppers, some heads, or other similar trifles. . . . After they have collected as many head (*piezas*) as they can buy in those very remote tribes, who are distant as much as 600 leagues from the coast, they leave in possession of the chiefs the iron goods and beads that are left over, so that they (the chiefs) may within the year go on buying until their (the Caribs') return in the following year; and, to avoid all trickery, two or three Caribs remain in each one of those tribes to keep guard over the merchandise they call *rescates*,⁴⁴ and had better have called captives, since they thus deprive so many innocent folk of liberty. On departing they protest to the chiefs 'that if on their return they find that the Caribs who have been left with them have received any injury or annoyance, that they will burn their villages and carry off all their wives and children,' so that the chiefs take much care of their guests. As soon as their business is concluded they turn their prows down stream until they arrive at the coast, where are the great part of their villages; when they have reached them they pass on to the Dutch colonies to pay their debts and to receive a fresh advance for the next voyage.⁴⁵

It will be seen that these inland expeditions were carried out regularly and systematically, and that the Caribs, themselves the commissioned agents of the Dutch, were recognised by the widely scattered and distant tribes of the far interior that they visited as a kind of overlords.

In the records of the eighteenth century there is abundant evidence that Dutchmen were accustomed to accompany the Caribs on these journeys, and probably this was always the case.⁴⁶ It was so certainly in the expedition of 1661, an account of which

⁴⁴ 'Tropas de resgate' was the regular Portuguese name for the expeditions sent up the Amazon to collect slaves. The word literally means 'rescues.' It was supposed that only captives taken in war and condemned to death—'de corda'—were enslaved. 'Eram de corda, e como taes se diziam resgatados.' Azevedo, *Os Jesuitas no Grao Pará*, p. 66.

⁴⁵ *Historia Natural, Cívil y Geographica de las Naciones situadas en las Riberas del Río Orinoco*, por Padre Joseph Gumilla, 1741, tom ii. pp. 72-4.

⁴⁶ *Brit. Case Venez.*, app., iii. p. 84. Gumilla himself in a report says, 'Se entremeten algunos Olandeses en las armadas de los Indios Caribes, pintados al uso de aquellos Barbaros con lo qual los animan,' p. 64. Another Spanish report: 'Los Olandeses natibes en aquellas Colonias que acompañan á los Carives los enseñan á manejar las armas.' Another, app. ii. p. 148: 'Algunos an estado mas de diez años entre los Caribes de fixo, haciendo dicho comercio de Poytos, y estos sin moverse los embian á Esquivo á sus apoderados quando les embian otros resgates para comprar mas á los Caribes, lo menos que estan es un año, o dos hasta tres.'

has been preserved to us by the careful diligence of Scott. In the section of his 'Description of the Amazonas' headed 'Of the Commodities,'⁴⁷ that writer tells us the story of an exploration made by Captain Matteson⁴⁸ from San Thomé of Guayana, at the head of a party of Spaniards and Spanish Indians, which penetrated, evidently in search of El Dorado, to some spot on the western part of the Great Parimé Savannah.⁴⁹ This was in 1655. What happened later shall be told in Scott's own words.

In the year 1661 he (Matteson), being disengaged from the Spanish service, went to Desse Keebe (Essequibo), which is a great river on the north side of Guiana in 9 degrees of latitude, and sent to the Dutch there; and one Captain Groonwegle [Groenewegen], governor of that colonie, gladly joyned with him, and they attempted a voyage to the place he had been with ye Spaniards, and were a hundred leagues from the fort south-south-east, but a quarrel happened betwixt the Carreebs they had with them and other Indians there they must pass through,⁵⁰ and being but fourteen Hollanders and 400 Careebs, did not dare to advance and leave an enemy in their back, returned again.

Matteson and his followers on this occasion would seem to have made their way considerably beyond the Pirara portage, probably to the river Takutú, possibly as far as the Branco (Parimé) itself. This expedition was one of the last enterprises of the veteran Commandeur Groenewegen, and must be looked upon as no mere trading voyage, but as a serious attempt, made officially, at the exploration of the Parimé Savannah, with a view to the exploitation of its reputed mineral wealth. The death of Groenewegen in 1664, followed as it was by the English conquest of Essequibo by Major

⁴⁷ Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS. A 175, f. 356.

⁴⁸ The story of this man's career for forty years, first in the Dutch, then the Portuguese, then in the Spanish service at Santo Thomé (for twenty-two years), has been already told (*ante*, vol. xviii. p. 653 *seq.*) In 1661 he re-entered the Dutch service, and after his capture by Scott in 1665 that of England. He was lost in a hurricane with Lord Willoughby of Parham, 1666.

⁴⁹ Scott says, 'They marched eightie days east and east-south-east, partly by periaques, and most on foot till they came to a Colonie of Indians scittuate on a faire plaine not far from a great lake, and a mightie ridge of mountains from whence they brought a quantitie of gould and traded with the natives for some vessels and weapons of silver; and this Captain Mattison had several emeralds that he brought from thence. He was of opinion that they were not above fiftie leagues from the head of Dessekeebe.' Everything in this description points to Matteson having followed the river Caroni to its sources, and then made his way to the south-east of the celebrated Mount Roraima. Schomburgk (*Raleigh*, p. 29, note) says, 'There is near the source of one of the chief branches of the river Caroni, at Mount Roraima, a mineral substance (jasper), resembling in colour verde antique; it is of so hard a substance that it is used in lieu of flint by the natives, who besides carry on with it a trade of barter with the other tribes.'

⁵⁰ These Indians were possibly the warlike Manoa of the Upper Negro. They were itinerant traders, like the Caribs, and frequented the Parimé. The imaginary city of Manoa on Lake Parimé no doubt derived its name from them. The Dutch records of 1723-4 record hostile collisions between them and the Caribs even in the Upper Essequibo, where their trading parties had penetrated. See *Brit. Case Venez. app.*, ii. 2, 3.

John Scott in 1665, put a stop, however, for the time to any ambitious schemes in this direction, but probably scarcely interrupted the regular trading with the tribes of the interior.

The notice in General Byam's narrative that in August 1665 'one younker Hendryek, a Switts, was sent to still the Indians'⁵¹ may be taken to signify that the native tribes continued loyal to the Dutch, and that Hendrickson's services as a factor among them did not terminate with his captivity. The English conquest was, in fact, exceedingly short-lived and in all probability scarcely affected the operations of the inland traders, who would be able to keep up their communications with the coast through Berbice,⁵² which remained continuously in Dutch hands. A document exists in the Biblioteca Nacional at Lisbon which shows that in 1667 the presence of the Dutch in the district which lay to the west of what was then the Portuguese frontier fortress of Corupá (Gurupa) had excited the alarm of the governor of Maranhão. He speaks of 'their always making their way through that district from the north, treating and trading with the natives, a matter which demands serious consideration,' adding, 'Hence a captain should be very vigilant and careful in his guard of his majesty's fortress, which has been entrusted to him.'⁵³

During the following nineteen years⁵⁴ the archives have nothing to tell us about the commerce of the Dutch traders in the Negro. This is not wonderful, for the region which they frequented was a *terra incognita* to all Europeans save themselves, and their own object in their daring journeys to these remote tribes in the heart of an unknown continent was profit, not publicity. It was not until the adventurers came into contact with the Portuguese missionaries and slave-hunting troops (*tropas de resgate*) that their presence or their doings found a chronicler. A cursory glance at the history of Pará and Maranhão during the period between 1668 and 1686 at once accounts for the silence of the records of those colonies upon any other matters than those of the disorders of the country. It was a period of disturbance and anarchy, of acute disputes between the Jesuits and the inhabitants, ending, in 1684, in open rebellion.⁵⁵ So far from advancing the Portuguese dominion further inland, even the fortress of Corupá (Gurupá) was allowed

⁵¹ *Journall of Guiana, 1665-7*, Brit. Mus. Sloane MS. 3662.

⁵² General Byam states (*ibid.*) that Essequibo was retaken by the Dutch in 1666 by a force from Berbice under the commandant Matthijs Bergenaar. A point on the Essequibo, not many miles from the mouth of the Rupununi, is connected by a frequented path of about ten miles with the Berbice.

⁵³ *Arquivo do Conselho Ultramarino Lembrete*, 1668-72. No. d'Ordem 589. Accusation brought by Governor Albuquerque Coelho de Carvalho against the captain of the fortress of Gurupá for negligence in his duty. 9 Jan. 1668.

⁵⁴ A raid upon the Omaguas is reported by a Spanish Jesuit missionary in 1681. See Rodriguez, *El Marañon y Amazonas*, 1684, pp. 395, 399.

⁵⁵ Lucio d'Azevedo, *Os Jesuitas no Grão Pará*, Lisbon, 1901; cap. v., *A Anarchia*,

to fall into ruin.⁵⁶ The appointment of an able and vigorous governor, Gomes Freire de Andrade, in 1684, in the very crisis of the revolt at São Luis, led to the speedy restoration of order, and then to measures being taken for the development and extension of the colony.⁵⁷ He caused several expeditions to be equipped for the exploration of the Amazon and its tributaries, and for the pushing forward of missionary enterprise. He himself left a report upon these expeditions and their results for the information of his successor, Artur Saa de Menezes, who became governor in 1687. In this document he relates how one of these exploring parties had entered the Rio Madeira, and had found that the natives on the banks of that river were supplied by foreigners with iron goods. To use the governor's own words, 'these (foreigners) enter by the Rio Orinoco, that disembogues in the coast in which they live, and they come introducing themselves so far down the Madeira as to arrive at an encounter with our canoes.' He then adds, 'The Rio Negro also is frequented by the foreigners, and with so much greater boldness that it is rarely that they are not to be found in it, trafficking.'⁵⁸ At this period then, when their possession of the Rio Negro was still unchallenged and undisturbed, we find that these enterprising Hollanders, not content even with that vast field for the barter of their wares, were pushing on their trade along the main stream of the Amazons,⁵⁹ and into some at least of its great tributaries southwards.

But besides the presence of the Dutch two other causes contributed at this time to arouse the Portuguese to a sense of the insecurity of their hold upon the river Amazon. Their possession of the northern mouth of the Cabo de Norte was threatened by the French from Cayenne, and that of the Solimões⁶⁰ by the astonishing success of the Spanish Jesuit missions among the Omaguas and Jurimaguas, under the direction of Padre Samuel Fritz.⁶¹ In 1689

p. 109, 1667-8; *Desordem Geral*, p. 118, 1684; *Revolução em São Luis*, p. 120, 1685; *Gomes Freire de Andrade restabelece a ordem*, 1686; Southey, *Hist. of Brazil*, ii. 500-633.

⁵⁶ Bibl. Naç. de Lisboa, Arch. Conselho. Ultr., *Cartas de Maranhão*, vol. i. f. 69; Bibl. pub. d'Evora, cod. cxvi. ff. 1-7, *Noticiario Maranhense*.

⁵⁷ Domingo Teixeira, *Vida de G. Freyre de Andrade*. Lisbon, 1724.

⁵⁸ Bibl. Naç. de Lisboa. 'Entra destes pello Rio Orinoco que desagua na costa em que habitam e vem se introduzindo já tanto pello Madeira abaixo que chegam a encontrar-se com as nossas canoas. . . . Tambem o Rio Negro he frequentado dos estrangeiros e con tanta mais demasia que raras vezes deixão de se achar nelle, comerciando.' Andrade imagines the Dutch must have come by the Orinoco, because he was ignorant of the very existence of Rio Branco.

⁵⁹ The account in Manoel Rodriguez's *El Marañon y Amazonas* of the raid on the Omaguas in 1681 renders it highly probable that the whole Amazon River between the mouths of the Madeira and of the Iça was visited at this period by the Dutch.

⁶⁰ Solimões is the Portuguese name for the Amazon between the mouths of the rivers Negro and Napo.

⁶¹ This extraordinary man entered upon his labours among the Omaguas in 1686,

Padre Samuel, having heard that a Portuguese troop of slave-raiders had ascended the river Solimões as far as the Cuchivaras (mouth of Purús), determined to go down stream to protest in person against what he regarded as an intrusion into the territory of the king of Spain. He did more than this, for, being in a weak state of health from severe attacks of fever, he not only joined the troop, but went down in their company to Belem to recruit, and to state his case before the governor in person. He reached Pará more dead than alive, and was nursed in the Jesuit college for two months. The question of the boundary, which he had raised, was referred to the decision of the home government, and meanwhile the missionary was detained for eighteen months until a reply had been received from the king. The decision was that he should be allowed to return to his field of labour; and under the escort of a Portuguese troop, under the command of Antonio de Miranda, he started on 9 July 1691 on his long ascent, the record of which, as told by himself, accurately portrays the extent of Portuguese jurisdiction in the river at that date.

Padre Samuel, in the early days of September, visited a Mercenarian missionary on the river Urubú, by whom he had been kindly treated on his descent two years before. This was the highest missionary settlement as yet founded.⁶² A new fort had been built at the mouth of the Tapajos, but though the king had commanded a fort to be erected at the mouth of the Negro it had not been begun. Fritz visited the Tarumas, the tribe living on the north side of the mouth of the Negro, and was received by them in the most friendly fashion. They begged him to remain and be their padre, as they had no love for the Portuguese. Having reached once more his mission of the Omaguas, Fritz set to work with redoubled energy to lay his views on the frontier question before the Spanish governor at Lima, and to resist to his utmost the advance of the Portuguese into what he held to be the domains of his most catholic majesty. This attitude of his, and the hold that he had

and succeeded in converting them and the neighbouring tribes, Jurimaguas, Aizuares, and others, to Christianity. Such was the fascination he exercised over the minds of the Indians that in a very few years even the tribes living at the mouth of the Negro and on the Urubú received him as if he were more than a mortal man. The tale of his labours between 1689 and 1727 is told by himself in his journals and letters (though unfortunately a portion of these was lost through the upsetting of a boat), which are of the greatest value, as is also the map which he constructed of the Amazon River, and which was printed at Quito in 1707. A manuscript copy of a large part of these journals and letters lies in the Public Library of Eyoza, in Portugal, and was inspected personally by me in October 1901.

⁶² The statements made by Ribeiro de Sampaio, ouvidor-general of the Rio Negro, in his *Diarioda Viagem*, 1774-5, on this subject are entirely inaccurate. Padre Frei Theodosio was, according to Samuel Fritz, who stayed with him both in 1689 and 1691, a missionary on the Urubú, and not among the Tarumas and Aroaquis, up the Negro.

won over the affections of the Indians, thoroughly alarmed the Portuguese authorities. Artur Saa de Menezes had been succeeded in 1691 as governor of Maranhão and Pará by Antonio Albuquerque Coelho de Carvalho, a man of enterprise and vigour. He at once took in hand the pressing need of strengthening the existing forts on the Amazon and erecting new ones, but was sorely hampered by the lack of funds and supplies. The records tell us that in February 1693⁶³ the construction of the guard house at the mouth of the Rio Negro was delayed for want of master masons, but there is evidence that it was begun in November of that year,⁶⁴ and that it was completed and garrisoned shortly afterwards. From this time forward egress from the Rio Negro was closed to the Dutchmen.

Simultaneously with the building of the fort the attention of the government, stimulated doubtless by all that they had heard of the success of Samuel Fritz, was directed to the regulation and pressing forward of missionary effort. By a royal order, dated 13 March 1693,⁶⁵ a division of missionary districts was made. In the region which we are specially considering the district of the Jesuits was placed to the south of the Amazon, those of the Mercenarians and Carmelities to the north. The Rio Negro and the delta that lay between the Negro and the Solimões, and both banks of the Solimões, fell to the Carmelites, who began from 1695 onwards to push forward along this last-named river,⁶⁶ with a view to checking the further advance eastward of the Spanish mission under Padre Samuel Fritz. Not yet for some years was any mission settlement founded on the Rio Negro higher than that of the Tarumas, near the fort.

This was the state of things when, early in 1695, the same Antonio de Miranda who had escorted Padre Samuel back to his mission in the autumn of 1691 was despatched on an expedition of inquiry up the Solimões, the objects of this expedition being to discover whether the Castilians were journeying about in the villages of the Cambebás, and, as report said, raising fortifications within the Portuguese dominions, and to ascertain, if possible, the exact position of the boundary mark set up by Pedro Teixeira. Before, however, proceeding to execute his main commission, Miranda sailed a short distance up the Negro, as far as the mouth of the river Anauinenas, where he parleyed with the headmen of that tribe, 'impressing upon them the advantage of maintaining

⁶³ Bibl. Nac. de Lisboa, Archivo do Cons. Ultr., *Cartas do Maranhão*.

⁶⁴ Bibl. Nac. de Lisboa, Archivo do Cons. Ultr., 'Consultas,' no. 843; 'Requerimentos,' no. 68. This last document gives the names of the first two captains of the fort, Ambrosio Muniz Barreyos and Luis de Moraes Bitancour.

⁶⁵ Bibl. Pub. d'Evora, Cod. cxv. ff. 2-12.

⁶⁶ Bibl. Nac. de Lisboa, 'Consultas,' no. 843; despatches of Governor Albuquerque Coelho, 1697, with enclosures; *Cartas do Maranhão*, lib. i.

good relations with the Portuguese by assisting in the service of that fort, which it had pleased his majesty to order to be constructed in those parts for their better security,'⁶⁷ and more to the same effect. His official report then proceeds as follows:—

After having made these parleys and delayed a sufficiently long time in these villages, I was inquiring whether along those their shores any Castilians or strangers were in the habit of passing and doing trade with them; and upon this particular they replied that Castilians had never come into their lands, and they were still less aware that any such had been fortifying themselves in the villages of the Cambebas, since they lay so distant that they had no reason for getting to know it; but entering sometimes into the houses of these Indians I saw various foreign articles, such as iron implements, knives, and other like commodities, and questioning from whence these things came to them they told me that the strangers were in the habit of bringing them from the head waters of their river; and that such were in the habit of coming and trafficking with their gossips (*compadres*); and that by their contracts with the same Indians they used to distribute these commodities amongst them, the which they esteem the more because they are much better than ours, for which cause they never want any of ours, and any that they have they attach small value to. On this particular I warned them that they should not trade with the strangers that one presumes to be Hollanders, since your lordship so commanded it, and that as vassals of his majesty they ought to keep his laws and orders, which they promised to do; but it seems to me that never will they dispense with this convenience, unless they be prevented by other means, because, as they find the commodities of these strangers better than ours, they are always sure to stick to those they value most, and unless we put a stop to this commerce, by other means, it is impossible that they should ever cease to keep up their communication,⁶⁸ which is much to our prejudice.

⁶⁷ *Bibl. Nac. de Lisboa*, 'Consultas,' no. 843; copy of report of Antonio de Miranda, Belem in Pará, 25 May 1695. The tribe, who were called Anavilhanos, lived in the islands which stud the broad stream of the Rio Negro, opposite the mouth of the Anauinas. The Cambebas, to whom Miranda was sent, are the same as the Omaguas. Omagua is a Peruvian word, Cambeba a Tupi word, both signifying 'flat-head,' it being the custom of this tribe to deform in infancy the heads of their children.

⁶⁸ *Bibl. Nac. de Lisboa*, *Cartas do Maranhão*, lib. ii. ff. 41, 109, &c.; 'Requerimentos,' Arch. do Cons. Ultr., Rio Negro, 1775. The first missionary 'aldeia' of the Portuguese in the Negro was that known as Santo Elias do Tarumas, dating from 1692. A rising of the natives in 1712 against the missionaries on the Urubú and Matary destroyed these mission stations, and apparently that of the Tarumas also, for in 1715 the captain of the fort makes the complaint that he can find no priest to administer the sacraments to his soldiers, since there are no missionaries nearer than four or five days' journey from the blockhouse. Before 1719 it had, however, been permanently restored, as the record exists of the confirmation of Frey Jeronymo Coelho, as head of the mission of Santo Elias dos Tarumas, on 22 May of that year. In the evidence brought before the court of inquiry into Portuguese claims on the Rio Branco, held by the ouvidor-general, F. X. Ribeiro de Sampaio, in 1775, it was stated by several witnesses that this Frey Jeronymo de Coelho, as missionary of the Tarumas, carried on trade with the Dutch during the year 1720 and onwards. At a later time, when the Dutch trade was driven from the Negro, the Tarumas, in their hatred to the Portuguese, abandoned their homes and settled under Dutch protection near the sources of the Essequibo, where a remnant of them still live.

About eighteen months later the governor, Antonio Albuquerque, himself made a journey of inspection into the interior, and he likewise makes a statement about the Dutch commerce to the following effect :—

In the Rio Negro they informed me that the Hollanders were in the habit of coming to traffick with the natives, ascending by the river Orinoco, which is below Cayana, and crossing by land some days' journey to this part of the river Amazon with a quantity of goods; these they expend liberally in bartering with the Indians for slaves, and with this object hide them from the missionaries and the head of the block-house.⁶⁹

Thus, through the very fact that the Portuguese were at the close of the seventeenth century beginning to circumscribe the sphere of Dutch enterprise to the east and south of the mouth of the Negro, strong evidence comes to hand, testifying to both the extent and the regularity of the traffic which the Hollanders carried on in the lower reaches of that river, and to the intimate relations of good-will and friendship existing between the traders and the native tribes whom they supplied with goods.

Another remarkable piece of first-hand evidence, of the same date as the preceding, reaches us on the authority of Padre Samuel Fritz,⁷⁰ not only showing that this traffic was not confined to the Lower Negro, but also indicating the route and the manner in which the commodities travelled to their destination. Fritz writes—

On 14 March (1695) I arrived at the settlement of N^a S^{ra} de las Nieves⁷¹ of the Jurimaguas. . . . Before my arrival the caciques of the Aizuares and Banomas⁷² had charged them of N^a S^{ra} de las Nieves to advise them when I should arrive at the place, since they wished to come to see and parley with me, and so a few days after my arrival at the first advice the said caciques set out, ascending from very remote parts, having some of them spent more than twenty days in arriving. Meanwhile I occupied myself in instructing the Jurimaguas in their tongue, which is quite different from that of the Omaguás. The caciques arrived. I explained to them also in part the mysteries of the Christian religion, and I gave them to understand how for love of them alone, that they should not go to hell, had I come from very distant lands, and I moved about amongst them with very great inconvenience, because they lived so far from one another in islands unsuitable for the erection of a fixed church. More than this, they already saw themselves so persecuted by the Portu-

⁶⁹ Antonio Albuquerque, in his entire ignorance of the geography of Guiana, and of the existence of such rivers as the Branco or the Essequibo, speaks of the latter as the Orinoco. He had clearly heard rumours of the Pirara portage.

⁷⁰ Bibl. Pub. d'Evora, Cod. cxv. ff. 2-15; 'Carta del Padre Samuel al Padre Diego Franco Altamirano, visitador de la provincia de Quito en que se refiere lo sucedido en la mission de Omaguas, Jurimaguas, &c., desde Septiembre de 1693 hasta fines de Julio 1696.'

⁷¹ A little below the mouth of the river Jutay.

⁷² Tribes living lower down the Salimões by the mouth of the Jupura and beyond.

guese that I had counselled them to transport⁷³ themselves up stream to the neighbourhood of San Joaquin of the Omaguas, where I would assist and instruct them with much love, and they were agreeing with all that I said to them. . . . I perceived that, notwithstanding that all showed themselves desirous of following me up the river, they had many motives to keep them back from this resolution; and the principal is this, that living down there they easily and at little cost provide themselves with English iron goods from the river Orinoco, because they buy them with necklaces that they make of shells,⁷⁴ that are more valued among those tribes than those of glass. With these necklaces the traders that they call 'Cavauri' go to lands of other heathen, and ransom captives; these they then convey by the Rio Negro to the Guaranaguas up to the place where the English arrive, because in a few days from these Guaranaguas travelling by land one arrives at the Pajonales and Rio Orinoco.

In this passage Fritz, whose personal acquaintance with the upper portion of the main stream of the Amazon was so exceptional, and whose writings and map added so much to geographical knowledge, shows himself to be as ignorant of the geography of the Rio Negro and of the vast region lying between that river and the sea as Governor Antonio Albuquerque Coelho de Carvalho and the rest of his contemporaries. He knew of no great river emptying itself northwards into the Caribbean Sea, except the Orinoco, and apparently he was unaware of the existence of the Dutch colonies on the coast. The statement that these goods were English was no doubt a mere inference on his part, as it may be regarded as certain that the natives, in this case, as in that of Acuña in 1639, spoke of the foreigners by some descriptive term signifying 'fair white men from the sea,' a translation into their own tongue of the *Parana-Ghiri* of the Caribs.

The place, however, to which these foreigners came with their goods for distribution can be identified with the spot afterwards occupied by the Portuguese settlement of Carvoeiro or Aricari. The following passage, from a description of the Amazons and Negro, published in 1770,⁷⁵ makes this sufficiently clear.

The river Uaranacua (western mouth of the Rio Branco) borders on the settlement of Carvoeiro. It was inhabited formerly by Indians, of the Uaranacuacena and Parauaana nations. Less than half a day's voyage from it up stream there formerly was founded on its eastern bank a village of Indians that united themselves to the settlement of Carvoeiro, it being still on the bank of the river Cavauri or Caburi.

⁷³ A few years later (1702) these tribes did desert their homes and sought refuge high up the river under Spanish protection.

⁷⁴ 'Abalorios que hacen de caracoles;' comp. Gumilla, ii. 72, quoted above, p. 15: 'El precio de cada cautivo, dos hachas, dos machetes, alguns cuchillos, alguns abalorios u otra friolera semejante.'

⁷⁵ Bras, Annexe, i. 182; see also 'Diario da Viagem que fez Ribeiro de Samp o 1774-5' (Brit. Mus., 702, e. 27), sections cccxl. cccxli. The Guaranaguas, or Uaranacuacenas, are the Guaranazuacenas of Acuña.

And a glance at Fritz's own map⁷⁶ enables us to see that he places the Indian tribe, whom he names 'Cavauri,' in that locality between the mouth of the Cuchivaras (Purús) and the Negro, where the Rio Caburi in reality flows. Thus the transit of goods took place between the Cavauri, who lived on the south side of the Negro, and the Guaranaguas or Uaranacuacenas, who lived half a day distant on the north side, at the mouth of the Branco. The last sentence of the quotation from Fritz is a reflexion of the dim and confused impression made upon him by the description by the Indians of the route by the Branco,⁷⁷ the Pirara portage, and the Essequibo. We have here an excellent illustration of the way in which these Dutch factors made use not only of the Caribs, but of other native tribes in the far interior, as commercial travellers, commissioned to carry their axes, knives, and other barter goods still further afield.⁷⁸

But one thing is needed to set the seal upon the deductions that have been drawn from the reports of the Portuguese governor of Pará and from the journal of the Spanish missionary of the Omaguas, a piece of confirmatory testimony from an official upon the Guiana coast. This is not wanting. The authorities that have been quoted from the side of the Amazon can be supplemented in a remarkable way by a passage from a despatch of Francisco de Menezes, governor of Trinidad, to the king, dated 29 Aug. 1784.⁷⁹ This governor reports that he has received news of the return of a Carib expedition from the head waters of the Orinoco, whither they had voyaged in search of El Dorado, and that 'they (the Caribs) had gone to the settlements of the Dutch to ascend with them to the said head waters.' His conceptions of the geography of the river at the mouth of which his own governorship lay will be apparent from the following extract:—

I cannot refrain from submitting to your majesty's royal consideration the paucity of men, arms, and ammunition there is in this province for the purpose of being able to resist any attack that might be made by the natives by whom the Orinoco is so infested, wherein there are four settlements of Dutch fortified with forts and artillery, the one in the river of Berbice, another in that of Essequibo, another in that of Bauruma [Pomeroon], and another in that of Surinam, all affluents of the Orinoco.

⁷⁶ This map represents the Rio Negro (which Fritz never entered) as having a course from north to south instead of from west to east. Not till D'Anville published his map, fifty years later (1748), are the Rio Negro and its tributaries correctly represented. His information came through the channel of the scientific French traveller De la Condamine, who, on his part, drew his knowledge largely from the itinerary and sketch map of the Dutch explorer Nicolas Horstman, 1739-40.

⁷⁷ The Pajonales (or Paxonales) of Fritz are possibly the same as the Paxianas of the Portuguese, a tribe living up the Branco. This tribe was well known as traders.

⁷⁸ During the second and third decades of the eighteenth century the Dutch formed a close alliance for trading purposes with the powerful tribe of the Manaos, still higher up the Negro.

⁷⁹ Archivo General de Indias. Seville. MS.

They have penetrated a good way into the interior of the country, and I have very trustworthy information that they have even forges for smelting metals established in the interior of the country, a matter which gives food for consideration, taken together with the reports of the said Caribs, for they said they were going in search of the Dutch at Berbice, in order to go up with them on their discovery.

Two statements here demand especial attention. First, it will be seen that, according to Francisco de Menezes, the rivers occupied by the Dutch on the Guiana coast were all affluents of the Orinoco. So extraordinary a blunder on the part of a high official so advantageously placed for knowing the facts at once explains, and to some extent justifies, the assumption of Fritz, Albuquerque, and others that the only trade route between the Rio Negro and foreigners on the North Sea was by way of the Orinoco. Secondly, the assertion is made on 'very trustworthy information' that the Dutch in 1694 were firmly established in the far hinterland of their Guiana colonies and were contemplating a further advance. Their recorded presence, therefore, in 1695 in the Negro and the Solimões need occasion no surprise. The facts reported by Antonio de Miranda and Samuel Fritz are the natural sequel to those contained in the despatch of Francisco de Menezes.

At this point the task, which we had proposed, of tracing out from slight and meagre notices, scattered here and there among the buried records of early colonisation on the Amazons and in Guiana, an account of the intercourse between the Dutch of Essequibo and the Indians of the Negro basin during the seventeenth century comes to a close. It has not been an easy task, for the region with which we have been dealing was (as previously stated) unknown during this period to any Europeans save the Dutch traders, and the allusions to their operations, in documents treating of other subjects, are usually hazy and indefinite, and often difficult of interpretation. It was to be expected that it should be so. The confident boldness, however, with which these factors penetrated so many hundreds of leagues inland, amidst countless dangers from the cataracts and rapids which barred their way, from disease, and still more from the hostility or the treachery of the untamed savages, who roamed along the river banks and in the savannahs of the interior, cannot but arouse our wonder, and it is only right that such extraordinary hardihood, accompanied as it must have been by marvellous skill in dealing with and conciliating the natives, should have some record in history. That it has not been possible to make it more complete is due not to lack of industry in research, but to lack of material. Considering the nature of the subject, one ought rather to be grateful that the archives have produced so much than surprised that they contained so little.

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